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Dr. Rivington on the Council of Chalcedon.

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THE MONTH for May contained an article on the Nestorian controversy and its settlement in the Council of Ephesus. It was in view of its valuable testimony to Papal Supremacy, and was occasioned by the publication of Dr. Rivington's *Roman Primacy*.<sup>1</sup> We were intending to express our sense of the importance of this new work by another article on its treatment of the Council of Chalcedon and the history of the Monophysite controversy. To this subject we now come, but it is sad to feel that the writer is no longer with us to watch over the fortunes of his book, or to complete its demonstration of Primitive belief, as he was proposing to do in another volume on the earlier period. The loss of his painstaking research and able pen is one which it will be hard to supply, but it is our good fortune that we still possess the fruits of his industry during the short period of his Catholic ministry. Through these he will continue to work amongst us for the good of souls, and lay a tax on the gratitude of searchers after truth.

We may begin this second article, like the first, though more briefly, by stating the point to be determined. There are some Catholics to whom the word "evolution" is like the blessed word Mesopotamia, a word only requiring to be pronounced in order to enable us to surmount any differences, however wide, which may be supposed to mark the respective attitudes towards Papal Supremacy of ancient and modern times. This, of course, is a delusion. Those who dispute or doubt of our position are perfectly justified in expecting of us that, if we hope to justify it, we should show that, although the extent of its scope may not then have been so fully realized, still in its essence—that is, in so far as it involves that the Pope is, *jure divino*, the supreme ruler of the entire Church—Papal Supremacy was distinctly recognized in the primitive as in the modern Church. This then is the

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Primacy* (A.D. 430—451). By the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A., D.D. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899.

question for the answer to which Dr. Rivington interrogates the history of Chalcedon.

By Monophytism is meant the heresy which, whilst admitting that the Incarnation was a substantial union of two natures in one person, held that after the union was consummated the two natures no longer remained distinct, but were confused into one. The first propounder of this heresy was one Eutyches, an Archimandrite of Constantinople. He was at once condemned at a local Council held at Constantinople under Flavian, Archbishop of that city, in 448. On his condemnation, Eutyches wrote to Pope Leo. He sent him two documents, one a profession of faith, and the other a notice of appeal to Rome, which he professed to have handed in at the Synod of Constantinople, a notice which contained a promise, alleged to have been made to the Synod, to follow the Papal decision in every way (*omnibus modis me secuturum quæ probassetis*). He asked St. Leo that he might suffer no prejudice pending this appeal, and begged for a decision on the matter of faith. There are some grounds for supposing that Eutyches also wrote to the "separate Synods of Egypt and Jerusalem," and of Thessalonica, and stress has, not unnaturally, been laid on this. But whilst the text of these letters, if they ever existed, is no longer extant, it is certain, from the nature of the case, that they could not have contained such promises of submission as were made to St. Leo. Nor is there any difficulty in understanding why Eutyches should have sought to assist his judicial appeal to St. Leo, by appeals for support to such Bishops as had influence in the Church. It is the kind of thing which one in the same position would do now.

Archbishop Flavian likewise wrote to St. Leo, and sent him the Acts of the Council. He notified indeed the condemnation of Eutyches to other Bishops, but he sent the Acts of the Synod to Leo, a measure which implied a formal reference to a superior authority. But these Acts, and the accompanying letter, were delayed in their transmission, it would seem, by some foul play. Accordingly, St. Leo wrote back, complaining of the omission, as contrary to the established custom, and as leaving him unable to judge of the application made to him on behalf of Eutyches. In the absence, too, of Flavian's account, St. Leo assumed the truth of what Eutyches had written. Hence he censured Flavian for not having respected the appeal of Eutyches. Later the Acts reached him, and likewise, a little previously, other letters of Flavian's. It was on receipt of these

that he wrote his famous Tome, a doctrinal exposition of the great mystery of the Incarnation, which most lucidly exposed the error of Monophysitism. It was to be Flavian's guide in dealing with the heretics, and particularly Eutyches, who was to accept it, or be excommunicated and deposed, and some Papal Legates were sent in charge of it, who were to see to its execution. Meanwhile, however, Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril on the throne of Alexandria, had appeared on the scene. Misled by some expressions of St. Cyril which he misunderstood, Dioscorus had taken up with the Monophysites, and had persuaded Theodosius II., who inclined to favour Eutyches, to summon a General Council. St. Leo, in a letter to the Emperor accompanying the Tome, acceded to this suggestion, and the Council met at Ephesus in 449. Dioscorus, with two others, were appointed by the Emperor to preside, and they quickly showed their bias. The Papal Legates, though received in the Council, were set aside, and the Tome they brought with them was left unread, in spite of their demands. Flavian was put on his trial, if trial it could be called, and along with him Eusebius of Dorylæum, who, in the local Council under Flavian, had been the first to draw attention to the heretical opinions of Eutyches. Both were condemned and deposed, whilst the heresy of Eutyches was solemnly sanctioned. These measures, however, were not passed by the free-will of the assembled Bishops. Dioscorus employed terrorism with the aid of the Imperial Counts and their soldiers, and the Council broke up in a tumult, Flavian receiving wounds to which he succumbed in a few days. He contrived, nevertheless, as did also Eusebius of Dorylæum, to lodge an appeal to St. Leo with his Legates, one of whom escaped secretly from the hands of Dioscorus, and found his way back to Rome. The text of these two appeals has been recently found by Dom Amelli, the Prior of the Archives of Monte Cassino, and in his new edition Dr. Rivington is able to quote from them. It remains to add that shortly after this Council, which is known as the Latrocinium, or Robber-Council, Dioscorus went the length of excommunicating St. Leo, "probably on the ground that he was supporting Bishops excommunicated by the authority of a Universal Council."

It is not unworthy of remark that this Council of Ephesus of 449 was a Council held under just those conditions which the Anglican theory would consider to be canonical. It was numerously attended by the Bishops; it acknowledged no right

of presidency in the Roman Pontiff, nor any necessity of his confirmation for its decrees; it looked to the civil power for the assignment of its president. And yet it failed egregiously in guarding the faith, which it even itself betrayed, and it was held in horror and aversion by the Catholics of those days, who regarded it as altogether abnormal and invalid.

But to continue. The purport of Flavian's appeal to Leo was not merely to obtain his own vindication and restoration, but to exhort Leo to come to the rescue of the suffering Eastern Church, as only he could. The situation thus created for St. Leo was difficult:

He had [says Dr. Rivington] to lift up the fallen East; he had the Emperor against him; the Patriarch of Alexandria was his unscrupulous foe, a new Patriarch had been elected to Antioch, the Bishop of Jerusalem had sided with the enemies of the faith, and but one Bishop, besides his own Legate, had dared to lift up his voice in favour of the murdered Archbishop.

It was a situation certainly, argues Dr. Rivington, to deal efficaciously with which no mere primacy of honour would have availed, or any power short of that divinely constituted and universal jurisdiction on which the great Pope relied. He at once repudiated the Latrocinium, declared that Flavian, of whose death he had not yet heard, was to be held untouched by its pretended sentence of deposition, and exhorted the Emperor Theodosius to cause another Council to be held in Italy, that the confusion which the Latrocinium had introduced into the Church might be rectified. It was known that Theodosius was under the influence of the Monophysites, and would be reluctant to do what was demanded of him. Accordingly, St. Leo, by his entreaties, induced Valentinian, the Western Emperor, to write to him, and likewise Galla Placidia, the Empress mother, and Eudoxia, the spouse of Valentinian. The letters of these Imperial personages, written in response to St. Leo's entreaty, witness to the Supremacy of the Pope over the entire Church. Thus Valentinian speaks of the Bishop of the city of the Romans, "to whom antiquity has given the high priesthood over all," and who "has the office and power of judging concerning the faith and concerning priests."

Had the Emperor Theodosius lived we cannot doubt that he would have continued to put obstacles in the way of ortho-

doxy, and it must be deemed providential that just at that critical time he was killed by a fall from his horse. His saintly sister, Pulcheria, succeeded, and by a marriage under an engagement that her vow of virginity should be respected, associated with herself in the supreme authority the Emperor Marcian, who, like herself, was anxious to cast the weight of his influence into the orthodox scale. By the very accession of Marcian and Pulcheria, the General Council for which Leo had asked became unnecessary; still, the Emperor was set on it, and Leo gave his full consent. It is true that Leo had asked for it in Italy, and Marcian insisted on the neighbourhood of Constantinople, where he could take part in its proceedings himself. But the neighbourhood of the Court being no longer a difficulty, and the inroads of the Huns rendering Italy just then impossible, must have combined to make the Pope perfectly ready to assent to the modification of his original plan.

The Papal Legates—Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface—presided at the Council, which met at Chalcedon in 451. It had met for two principal matters—(1) to judge Dioscorus and his accomplices in the Latrocinium, and (2) to obtain the adhesion of all present to the teaching of St. Leo, by which the orthodox faith was declared, and the errors of Eutyches were exposed.

There was no difficulty in the case of Dioscorus. His misconduct was patent, and his perversity still continued. Accordingly, his sentence of deposition was pronounced under the leadership of the Legates by the Fathers of the Council, even his former associates passing over to the orthodox side. Four grounds of condemnation were put forth by the Legate Paschasinus—(1) he had received back into communion, just as if he had authority to do so, Eutyches, who had been regularly deprived by his own Bishop; (2) he had not allowed the Tome of Leo to be read in the Latrocinium; (3) he had persisted to the present hour in his perversity; (4) and worst of all, he "had actually dared to dictate a sentence of excommunication against the most holy and sacred Archbishop of Great Rome, Leo;" (5) "he refused to come into the Council when summoned." "Wherefore Leo, . . . by us and the present most holy Synod, in union with the thrice Blessed and all-glorious Peter the Apostle who is the rock and foundation of the Church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith, has stripped him of the episcopate and deprived him of all sacerdotal rank." It is this strong assertion of authority which was not only heard without protest

on that solemn occasion, but was accepted as the rule to which the rest were to conform themselves.

We must not pass over the history of this judgment on Dioscorus without referring to a point which has hitherto been misunderstood, but which is now set right by Dr. Rivington. At the first assembly of the Fathers, Dioscorus took his seat by the side of the Commissioners as the second prelate in Christendom. At once the Papal Legates protested. They said "they held instructions from the most Blessed and Apostolic Bishop of the City of Rome, who is the head of all the Churches," to the effect that Dioscorus was not to "sit with the Council." On this, according to the *Acta*, the Commissioners said, *εἰ δικαστοῦ ἐπέχεις πρόσωπον ὡς δικαζόμενος οὐκ ὀφείλεις δικαιολογεῖσθαι*. This has generally been interpreted—for instance, by Canon Bright—as addressed reproachfully to the Legates: "If you claim to judge, do not be accusers too." But *δικαιολογεῖσθαι* means to "plead a cause," not "to accuse," and besides the Legates had just refused in express terms to be the accusers. On the other hand, the immediate effect of the Commissioners' words was that Dioscorus left his place by their side, and went into the middle as one on trial. Evidently then the disputed words must have been addressed to him, not to the Legates, and have meant that he should so remove himself. They should be interpreted, therefore, thus: "By assuming the character of a judge, you suggest that you are not under an obligation to stand your trial," the implication being, "but you are under the obligation to stand your trial, and so must not sit in the place of a judge."

We come now to the sessions in which the Bishops accepted the teaching of St. Leo's Tome. There was a very general readiness from the outset among the Fathers to accept the Tome, but the position taken up in the Latrocinium had been that, according to the rule of the previous (Œcumenical) Council of Ephesus, no additions were to be made to the Nicene Creed as a doctrinal test. What St. Cyril and the Ephesine Fathers had meant was that no doctrine that was new, in the sense of being opposed to the doctrine of the Creed of Nicæa—no *καινοτομία*—must ever be admitted and embodied in a Creed. Dr. Rivington has an excellent note on this subject, and even apart from historical arguments, it seems inconceivable that the Ephesine Fathers could have been so absurd as to suppose that no new error could at any time arise, and need to be met with a defini-



tion excluding it, of the same kind as they themselves were then opposing to the error of Nestorianism. Still, it suited the party of Dioscorus at the Latrocinium to take the opposite view, affording them, as it did, a good pretext for involving St. Flavian in apparent conflict with an Œcumenical Council, and for staving off attempts to extrude the newly-born error of Monophytism. Some of the Fathers of Chalcedon were still secretly, and perhaps unconsciously, inclined towards Monophytism, particularly Anatolius, the successor of Flavian at Constantinople, who had formerly been secretary to Dioscorus. They were devoted admirers of St. Cyril, and were still misled by his phrase, *ἑνωσις φυσική*, through not having sufficiently attended to his other writings, in which he makes it clear that he used it in the sense of "unity of person," not of "nature." It was important, therefore, that before the Council closed, these Bishops should be made to realize their misapprehension and its danger, and that the teaching of all should be brought into harmony with that of St. Leo. It is most important also, in view of present controversies, that this vital point should be realized by modern inquirers into the methods of the early Councils. In their fourth session, prior to subscribing to the Tome, the Fathers examined it, to judge if its teaching were consistent with that of Nicæa and of Ephesus. That they should have been thus permitted to examine a Papal document has been taken as proof that they deemed themselves, in their collective capacity, as Fathers of the Council, superior to St. Leo, and free to accept or reject his Tome, as they might judge it to be orthodox or not. In the former article we explained the principle of such examinations, and it is only necessary here to repeat that the examination of St. Leo's Tome by the Bishops who were to subscribe to it, is a crucial instance in point. That the Tome and its doctrine were presented to them as authoritative was well understood by all. They fully understood that the alternative set before them was to accept it and subscribe to it, or be condemned as unorthodox and incur deprivation. But they understood also that they were called upon, not to sign it blindly, but to seek enlightenment, to seek an intellectual conviction of its orthodoxy, which they were assured was awaiting them as the reward of due examination.

When we consider the character and ignorance of some of these Bishops [says Dr. Rivington], . . . it must be felt that it was of the last importance to send them forth, not merely to say, "The Tome *must* be

right, because it emanated from the Holy See," but, "We can prove it to be right, having been carefully taught, or having learned for ourselves, that it is, *as a matter of fact*, in perfect accord with the standards already acknowledged as such."

The episode which caused most trouble aptly illustrates this. Apart from a few Illyrians and Palestinians, the latter brought up in the school of Juvenal of Jerusalem, the Bishops made slight objection to subscribe the Tome itself. They were convinced that St. Leo was orthodox, and were at all moments ready to exclaim, "Peter has uttered these things through Leo. Leo and Cyril have taught alike. Anathema to him who does not thus believe. We the orthodox thus think." But when the Tome was subscribed by the Bishops, there was still another safeguard of orthodoxy required of them, and it was then that the chief difficulty arose. It was requisite that the Council should draw up a definition of its own, in which the Fathers, in language of their own composition, should declare in what sense, as regards the point raised by Eutyches, they interpreted the Nicene Creed, and should declare it in entire concord with the Tome of St. Leo. The draft of such a definition had been composed by Anatolius and some others, but when it was read in the Council an important defect was perceived in it. It spoke of our Lord as "of two natures" instead of "in two natures." We teach . . . one and the same Christ, the Son, the Lord, the Only-begotten, of two natures, without confusion, or transformation, or separation, or division." "Of two natures" might in itself bear the orthodox sense, and might seem determined to this by the added term, "without confusion," &c. But the phrase was open to misconstruction, and Eutyches had actually sought to take shelter under its ambiguity. "I acknowledge," he had said, "that our Lord was of two natures before the union, but I confess one nature after the union," and St. Leo had found fault with Flavian's Synod of Constantinople of 448, for having, though otherwise orthodox and actually condemning Eutyches, allowed this phrase to pass. Accordingly, when his Legates found it still appearing in the draft definition prepared by Anatolius, they smelt the danger. "Would a formula of comprehension," as Dr. Rivington puts it, "find its way into the Church, so that opposing parties could sign the same formula, setting each his own meaning on it, each retaining his own opinion on the point in dispute?" The Legates, therefore, insisted on the substitution of the unequivocal phrase "in two



natures." They went so far as to say that they would ask for Imperial rescripts to return at once to Rome and have a Council celebrated there if the Bishops did not consent to the letter "of the Blessed and Apostolical man Leo." Still, the Bishops resisted, until at last the Imperial Commissioners skilfully extracted from them that if they accepted the Tome, as they still effusively professed to do, and the Tome contained the phrase "in two natures," as it did, they could not reasonably object to the incorporation of this phrase in their own definition. On this they withdrew to reconsider their position, and at last came back ready to amend their definition, which was then signed by all.

Some may criticize their submission as undignified, though one does not see why it was, since they were all along prepared to accept the same phrase in the Tome. But the point which is specially to be remarked is that it was the Legates who saved the position. Had it not been for their insistence, that Council of Chalcedon, which we all venerate as having so splendidly completed the work of Nicæa and Ephesus in its vindication of the great mystery of the Incarnation, might have ended in a failure only less disastrous—indeed, since following upon it, still more disastrous—than the treason of the Latrocinium.

We must go, too, behind the Legates to appreciate the services they rendered to the Church. What comes out of the history of Monophysitism is nothing less than this, that, as in its previous danger, the Church was saved by Celestine, so in this it was saved by Leo—and not by Leo's splendid theological acumen and powers of exposition, though these were of immense advantage, but by his supreme authority and the recognition which it everywhere obtained. Doctrinal expositions of themselves could be disregarded, as the Tome was disregarded at the Latrocinium. What was necessary was authority to enforce doctrine, and the only authority capable of doing that was authority which would carry with it the guarantee of orthodoxy. It was with this that St. Leo was clothed, and through the use of which he saved the Church in her hour of peril; not through this in itself, for that would have been of small avail, but through this as recognized, for, in spite of the denials on the part of modern writers, we must persist that it was recognized. We are not talking now of verbal acknowledgments. Some of these we have had occasion to quote, which are decisive enough, and in Dr. Rivington's pages many more have been cited. But it is well also to take

a broad view of the history. What is so striking is that throughout the history culminating in Chalcedon—as in that which culminated in Ephesus—whilst the Pope takes the lead and gives commands, the orthodox invariably defer to him and appeal to him, whilst even the unorthodox appeal to him when they hope to gain by so doing, and never venture to deny his authority formally, but seek only to elude its exercise by some device. Thus Flavian, Eusebius, and Theodoret appealed to him, as a matter of course, when misjudged, and appealed to him in language which it is inconceivable they should have used in soliciting the good-will of an equal. Valentinian, Galla Placidia, Pulcheria, acknowledge his headship in their letters; Marcian in his letters and his arrangements about the Council; Anatolius and the Fathers of the Council in several of their references to him during the debate and in their applications to him for the confirmation of their decrees. And when Leo thought fit to exercise his jurisdiction by deposing some, reinstating some, and forgiving others, not only did they not protest, but lent themselves as the willing ministers of his judgments. Even Eutyches, though probably insincerely, professed to have appealed to him when condemned at Constantinople, and certainly wrote to him in this sense when that Council was over. And Dioscorus, though he found the Papal mandates irksome, and sought to elude them, did not venture formally to oppose them, at least till the time when he ventured to direct against Leo a sentence of excommunication, which, in contrast with the similar sentences emanating from Rome, was received, not with obedience, but with horror, as though it were an outrage beyond endurance.

The history of the sessions in which the doctrinal matters were under discussion and settlement suffice of themselves, and more than suffice, to show that Papal supremacy was acknowledged by the Fathers of Chalcedon. But the history of the fifteenth session, so called, although it has been claimed as favouring the opposite conclusion, supplies us, if possible, with a still more forcible argument for the Papacy. And it is here particularly that Dr. Rivington has rendered important service by clearing away some false persuasions of what happened, which even Catholic writers have been disposed to accept.

It was intelligible that, Constantinople having become the Imperial city, its Bishop should desire a prominent place in the hierarchy of the Church. What he desired was not, indeed, to

have precedence over the Bishop of Rome—that would have seemed too monstrous—but at least to hold the rank next to him. The difficulty in the way of this desire was that by ancient tradition, ratified expressly by the Council of Nicæa, the second and third places belonged to the sees of Alexandria and Antioch respectively, on account of their relation to Blessed Peter. To the accomplishment, however, of their desire, the prelates of the Imperial city steadily devoted themselves, with the not unnatural support and connivance of the Emperors, from 381 onwards. At the Council then held a canon was passed decreeing that “the Bishop of Constantinople ought to have the privileges of honour (πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς) after the Bishop of Rome, it (the city) being New Rome.” The accession thus granted was of dignity, not of jurisdiction; but on its basis, during the interval of seventy years, the Bishops of Constantinople had made efforts, not without considerable success, to establish a Patriarchal jurisdiction over the hitherto independent “dioceses,” or greater areas, of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. The subservience to the Court of the Metropolitans within these districts had helped them to their achievement.

At Chalcedon an opportunity seemed to Anatolius to have arisen which he might utilize for legalizing this enhanced status and jurisdiction of his see. Still, the enterprise was felt to be difficult and to require diplomatic action, even the decree of 381 never having attained to Papal acceptance, and the traditional principle of the Apostolic See being one of rigid adherence to the Nicene settlement. Anatolius and his party waited till 400 of the 600 Bishops assembled had departed for their homes, and the moment was certainly favourable to him. The see of Alexandria, vacated by the deposition of Dioscorus, was still unfilled, and Maximus of Antioch, whose own ordination was irregular, was one of Anatolius's partisan. Then, too, Juvenal of Jerusalem was a friend of Anatolius, who, like him, had been somewhat compromised by a sympathy for Dioscorus. Nor was there any one to guard the interests of the three threatened dioceses. And, in short, says Dr. Rivington, “the little knot of Bishops whom Constantinople gathered round herself by various means could not by any stretch of language be called a representative body, for the purpose of enacting a canon concerning the jurisdiction of Constantinople.”

Nevertheless, they drew up a canon which “threw the Nicene settlement to the winds,” renewing the previous grant of pre-

eminence in dignity, and adding to it one of a certain jurisdiction over the three dioceses. The text of this famous so-called twenty-eighth canon is well known. It is sufficient here to say of it that, seeking a basis for its enactment, it declared that "the Fathers had given pre-eminence to Old Rome, *because it was the ruling city*," and that Constantinople, having now become the seat of empire, it was fitting it should receive the same pre-eminence, holding the second place after Old Rome.

Here two questions arise, one as to the meaning of the canon, the other as to its authority. The question as to the meaning is whether those responsible for its composition meant to suggest that the presidency of the Roman Bishop was due solely and directly to the greatness of his city, or only that Rome, on account of its civil precedence, had been selected by the Fathers—that is, the ancients generally, including primarily the Apostles—as the locality where they should establish the Petrine primacy. On this first question we do not wish now to dwell. Even if Anatolius and his supporters held the former unorthodox meaning, nothing follows controversially, more than anything follows controversially from the hesitation of these same people over the doctrinal formula against Monophysitism. A knot of Bishops bent on an ambitious scheme might be apt to excogitate an unorthodox basis for it. Their language elsewhere, however, especially in their letter to St. Leo, in which they distinctly attribute a Divine origin to the authority of his See, suggests the possibility of the more orthodox interpretation of the canon, an interpretation which, *pace* Dr. Bright, the words will bear.

As to the second and more important question. The Papal Legates, though invited, declined to take part in the meeting during which the canon was passed by Anatolius and his party. But when it was passed, they came forward to protest before the Commissioners. They had been instructed by the Pope not to mix up in any such uncanonical work, but if it was started by others to resist it. They based their complaint on the ground that the new canon violated the canons of Nicæa. On this the Commissioners desired that the canons on which each side relied, might be publicly read. Accordingly the Legates read, or had read, the sixth Nicene canon. They read it in Latin, and with the crucial clause, "the Bishop of Rome always had the primacy" (*πρωτεία*), which clause is followed by the clause which legislated for the rights of Alexandria, Antioch, and

Jerusalem, and assigned them their precedence in this order. The Deacon Constantinus, on the part of the Archdeacon Aetius, next read the canons on his side. But what were these? Certainly, he read the second canon of 381—but did he also read a version of the sixth canon of Nicæa, in which the clause “the Bishop of Rome always had the primacy” was omitted? or if so did he read the canon in this version with the purpose of indicating that the Legates were trying to make capital of a spurious clause? The latter is what some Anglican writers insist upon strongly. They even go so far as to describe the clause about the Roman primacy as a clause introduced by the Legates with conscious fraud. It is thus the Bishop of Lincoln refers to it in his Preface to Mr. Puller's *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*.

But this is one of the points which Dr. Rivington has set to rest for ever. The supposed Greek version—which Dr. Bright has curiously described as “the original text,” just as if it were the autograph—in no way assisted the party of Anatolius. They did not contest the primacy of Rome; on the contrary, it was to it they appealed, as offering a basis for their innovation. Their point was that Constantinople should come next to Rome. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Constantinus read the Nicene canon, and probably its appearance in most of the editions of the *Acta* (not in all) is due merely to some compiler. If, however, Constantinus did read a version omitting the clause, it is morally certain that no stress was laid upon the difference. This is proved, not only by what has just been said, but by the further fact that the Imperial Commissioners, when summing up the results to which the canons read seemed to them to point, deduced that “the primacy (πρωτεία) and the pre-eminent honour (ἐξαιρετον τιμὴν) ought to be preserved, according to the canons, to the Bishop of Rome. So pointed a reference to the πρωτεία as being in accordance with the canons must surely mean that a clause to that effect had been cited and admitted. Moreover, the twenty-eighth canon itself follows the same lines, claiming for Constantinople, not that it should be first, but “second to (Rome).”

Already then, from the history of the fifteenth session, we have a striking testimony to the recognition of the Roman Primacy even by those Orientals who were at the time engaged in exalting an Imperial see. But when the Council was over, this so-called twenty-eighth canon was referred to Pope Leo with a

request for its confirmation. The history of this episode has often been related, and we had occasion to discuss it in *THE MONTH*, three years ago.<sup>1</sup> On the present occasion we must be content with a short summary, sufficient to indicate the state to which Dr. Rivington in the work before us has brought the controversy, for in some controversy the facts have no doubt been involved.

Two letters are extant in which St. Leo's acceptance of the decree is solicited, one running in the name of the Fathers of Chalcedon, the other in the name of Anatolius of Constantinople, but probably the authorship of this prelate is to be traced in both. In these letters we find (*a*) they told St. Leo that "he was their head and they were his members," (*b*) that he had been their "leader" (*ἀρχηγός*,<sup>2</sup>) in the Council through his Legates, (*c*) that he had been to them in their deliberations "the interpreter of the voice of Blessed Peter," (*d*) that "to him the vineyard had been entrusted by the Saviour," and they trusted he would, as the "father" of Constantinople, "extend his wonted care to that part of the vineyard." They told him, too (*e*) that Eutyches had "had his dignity taken away by his (your) Holiness," and (*f*) that Dioscorus had been condemned because, like a wild beast, he had attacked the guardian of the vineyard, and had dared to excommunicate him whose mission it was to maintain unity in the Church. Coming to their decree about precedence, (*g*) they apologize for having passed it without his previous permission, on the ground that he would be sure to approve of the measure, seeing how, "free from all jealousy, he had ever loved to enrich those who belonged to him by causing them to participate in his own power;" and they ask him to consider the decree as his own, and confirm and assent to it.

It would be difficult to deny that, if taken literally, such language amounts to a recognition in Pope Leo of a primacy of jurisdiction by Divine right, but it is suggested that we are to take it as Oriental flattery. These Bishops wanted to obtain something from St. Leo, and first sought to propitiate him by fulsome language. This is a point which Dr. Rivington argues out in a manner which will surely be found convincing. The contention, let it not be forgotten, of those who consider that the twenty-eighth canon tells against Papal claims, is that this canon represented the views of Orientals, who disputed the rights asserted by the Roman Bishops, and wished by their

<sup>1</sup> June, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Luke xxii. 26.

canon to strike a blow at them. But from this standpoint how could they, unless they had lost their reason, adopt the forms of flattery imputed to them?

They knew [says Dr. Rivington] that it was the teaching of St. Leo that he was the successor of St. Peter, and as such the ruler of the Christian Church. And they were not so utterly devoid of all sense of truth, and of ordinary common sense, as to suppose that, in putting such a weapon into Leo's hand as their own recognition of his position as successor of St. Peter, they would advance the cause of Constantinople. Whereas, if the Christian world held that Leo was their head, their language was natural, for then they lost nothing by saying so.

Here we must end our notice of Dr. Rivington's last work. We trust it may find readers among earnest men who desire only to know the truth, for it is well worthy of their attention. Were its lamented author still with us he would be the last to wish that his arguments should be accepted without careful sifting, the first to withdraw any of them which should have been proved defective. In that spirit also let it be read, and we are confident that it will then be found to be a valuable contribution towards the determination of an all-important controversy.

S. F. S.



### *The Examination System: Its Use and Abuse.*

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A STORY is told of a candidate for Anglican Orders, who presented himself for ordination before a Bishop, whose religious opinions he had not previously ascertained. Among the questions set in the Examination previous to ordination was one that fairly perplexed him. He was asked whether good works were necessary to our eternal salvation. To answer in the affirmative would have been fatal to him if the Bishop belonged to the Evangelical school, and on the other hand a negative answer would have been no less disastrous if the Bishop happened to be a High Churchman. So he evaded the difficulty by saying that good works were highly to be commended, so long as you did not have too many of them.

I think we may take this for our text respecting the Examination system. It is scarcely necessary to prove that too many Examinations are an evil. Too many Examinations have contributed not a little to the present effete condition of China. Mr. Edkins, a Protestant missionary who lived many years in China, informs us that just before leaving the country he had bid farewell to an old mandarin of the age of one hundred and one, who had passed his final examination in the Chinese Civil Service. We have not yet carried Examinations in England quite so far as this; but the growth of the Examination system during the present century has been sufficiently rapid to make it worth our while to consider carefully what are its effects on education, and on the physical, moral, and intellectual well-being of Englishmen.

The subject is a very large one, and it will be necessary for me to confine myself in the present paper to one class of Examinations, and one only. I shall therefore say nothing about the Examinations of our elementary schools, or about those which belong to the domain of technical education. I shall say nothing about the special and professional Examinations which clergymen have to pass in theology, doctors in



surgery and medicine, solicitors and barristers in law, engineers in fortifications, or those of any other profession in their own professional matter. I shall limit myself to the consideration of those general Examinations, the subject-matter of which is the various branches of what is called a liberal education, that is, an education the end and aim of which is not to encourage proficiency in any one special branch of knowledge, but so to train the mind and discipline the intellectual faculties, as to enable them to apply themselves with success to the study of any branch of knowledge necessary in after-life, and at the same time to impart such general information as may be expected from any one who is in the position of a gentleman.

Such is the education given at our public schools and Universities, and we shall therefore have to take into consideration primarily the Examinations to which those are subjected who are educated at them. These will include, not only school and University Examinations, but those by which candidates are selected for Woolwich and Sandhurst, for the Civil Service, both of England and India, as well as certain entrance Examinations for those who intend to study law and medicine, and also certain other Examinations which are conducted more or less on the same lines, such as the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, the Intermediate Examinations in Ireland, the Local Examinations of the Scottish Universities, and of the Royal College of Preceptors, which now combine to form a network spread over the whole country, and attract to themselves in ever-increasing numbers, the boys and girls who are being trained at the various upper and middle class schools all over the British Isles.

All these Examinations are supposed to test, though in very different degrees, the principal branches of a liberal education. In some of them the modicum of knowledge required is exceedingly small, in others long years of studious toil are necessary to success. But they all have for their ultimate end and object to raise the general standard of intellectual culture throughout the country, and to test such knowledge as is a constituent part of a liberal rather than of a technical or special education.

But beside their ultimate end, they all of them have also a primary and immediate object. And here they fall into two principal classes, according as their object in testing knowledge is one that has reference to the past or to the future. In the one

case the object of the Examination is to be a test of knowledge already gained, as a means of stimulating the acquisition of more knowledge afterwards ; in the other as a means of enabling those engaged in the government of the country, or in the control and administration of the various learned professions, to select the men who are best suited, or at least to reject those who are unsuited, for government work, or a professional career. To the first of these classes belong the various Examinations of our Public Schools and Universities, to the second our Army and Civil Service Examinations, the entrance Examinations of the student of Law and Medicine and Theology. There are, indeed, some Examinations which belong to both of these classes at the same time, as, for instance, the Fellowship Examinations at our Universities, which are intended partly as a stimulus to study, partly to secure the maintenance of a good teaching staff, and of a body of Fellows who will support the credit of the College, and enable it to carry on its work of education with success. But even here there is a tendency for the Examinations to differentiate themselves into one or other of these two classes, according as the Fellowship to which the Election is to be made is a Prize Fellowship or a Teaching Fellowship respectively.

There is a third object which the Examination system sets before itself, and which is a secondary, though at the same time a very important, element in their usefulness. It is intended to guide into a wholesome channel the study of those who intend to present themselves to be examined. No one is likely to succeed in an Examination, unless he has for some time directed his studies to attaining a knowledge of the books or subjects presented. In a country where Examinations are the order of the day, the whole course of education must of necessity be modified, if not altogether moulded by them. Where government appointments are made by examination, they are liable to affect even the teaching of the Universities ; where commissions in the Army depend on success in a certain examination, the schools and colleges of the upper class will either modify their course to meet the Examination requirements, or will have a special Army Class, with the alternative of having to hand over a number of their most promising boys into the pernicious hands of the professional Army Crammer. In the same way the Scholarship and entrance Examinations at the Universities have no little influence on the system of teaching in our Public Schools, from the lowest class to the highest ; and the Oxford

and Cambridge Local Examinations are exerting a similar influence over both boys' and girls' schools of the middle class. This gives the Examination system an enormous power to make or to mar the education of the whole country.

We must now inquire into the Examination system under these three heads—(1) as a stimulus to intellectual effort; (2) as a means of choosing fit men, and the fittest men for doing the work of the country and its various professions; and (3) as a directing influence controlling the course of education.

1. As a stimulus to work the Examination system has been most effective. It has been the means of waking up school-masters from the old humdrum ways in which they trod in the good old days. It has done away with a number of abuses which were flourishing a hundred years ago. At the beginning of the present century there was no regular Examination for an Oxford degree. The student who had kept the requisite number of terms asked two of his friends among the Masters of Arts to dinner, and over the wine they would inquire of him what was the perfect of *amo*, and the future of *τύπτω*. When he had satisfied his Examiners on these two recondite questions, they would sign for him the Testamur, which bore witness that he had satisfied them of his knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, or if their entertainer's hospitality had made it a matter of difficulty for them to write their names legibly, they would send him the Testamur the next day. Such a system, I need scarcely say, was not favourable to hard work among the then students, and the idleness that prevailed in the Universities necessarily affected the Public Schools.

In 1802 the adoption of a Public Examination before Public Examiners, which had to be passed before the degree could be taken, did away for ever with the postprandial Testamurs. In these good old times open Scholarships, and still more open Fellowships, were innovations undreamed of. In some Colleges the Scholars were simply nominated by the Fellows in turn; in others they were all attached, as indeed many of them still are, to certain public schools, to the natives of a particular county or town, or to those who could claim kinship, however remote, with the Founder of the College. The Scholar, after a certain number of years, became a Fellow almost as a matter of course; in fact, in some Colleges he was called from the first a Probationary Fellow. The result of this was that men became Fellows of Colleges who were utterly unfit for it; such men sometimes lived

on their Fellowship all the rest of their life, and occasionally maintained a wife and family in secret away from Oxford, although by the then laws of the Colleges, marriage *ipso facto* vacated a Fellowship. That under these circumstances learning languished is not to be wondered at, yet even under that system there was a large number of distinguished men who loved learning for its own sake, and were able to devote themselves to it, unfettered by the trammels of modern Examinations.

In our Public Schools I do not think there was the same danger to be feared. Examinations are almost a necessary part of the working of every school, and the introduction of external Examiners, which is the chief feature of the modern, as opposed to the old method of Examination, although it is a useful change, was not indispensable. The competition among boys is always keen, and the additional stimulus of an external Examiner is only, so far as I can judge, a matter of secondary importance. It is the interest of every Head Master to see that his Assistant Masters do their work efficiently, and I do not think that in this respect there were any serious abuses to be remedied.

When we turn from the use of the Examination system as a stimulus to mental effort, to the abuses to which it is liable, we find that a very serious indictment is brought against it. If it is an evil that boys and young men should be sufficiently urged on to give themselves heart and soul to their work, it is undoubtedly a greater evil that the competition should be so keen, and the prizes offered them so considerable, as to lead to an overstraining of the faculties of the young at a time when any undue mental exertion is likely to do them serious and lasting injury. Some of my readers may remember a protest which appeared about ten years since in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*, in which the evils of the Examination system are very forcibly stated. I will quote a short passage from this protest, which was signed by a considerable number of Tutors, literary men, doctors, and schoolmasters, whose opinion was the result of their own experience.

We wish [they say] to call the attention of parents and teachers to the resulting physical mischief (of the present Examination system). One of the first duties of a child or young person is to grow well. In the rapid formation of bone, muscle, and tissue of all kinds, Nature lays on a child a very heavy tax—a tax that should absorb the greater part of its surplus energy. It is probable that in the course of every year some valuable young lives are lost, in cases where this energy has

been drawn away by mental overstrain from the work that it has primarily to perform, and where there is in consequence a failure of strength to meet the *sequelæ* of scarlet fever or other serious illness. Even in the great number of cases where no strongly marked ill-effect discloses itself during the years of youth, there are sufficient grounds for believing that what is unsparingly taken at this period of life is taken at the expense of future vigour and capability.<sup>1</sup>

Further on the same protest speaks of the "excessive and hurtful stimulus" of special training for the one purpose of defeating other candidates in a great educational contest. To this Mr. Harrison adds, in an article which follows the protest, that at least nine-tenths of any over pressure on students arises from Examinations, and not from simple study.

All this rather tells us what certain persons interested in education think must be the case, than offers any definite statement of what experience has shown to be actually the case; but in the evidence given by Father Delany, the President of University College, Dublin, and formerly the Head Master of a large school in Ireland, before a Commission appointed to consider the working of the system of Intermediate Examinations in Ireland, in which the prizes are of great value and the competition keen, we have more precise and definite information from one who has had a practical knowledge of the working of the system. After praising the spirit of industry which it has fostered, he says:

As to the drawbacks of the system, it tends to substitute instruction for education. . . . It seems to me seriously to interfere with the social influences in the work of the school for the moulding of character, for the eagerness to study is so absorbing, that in the case of many schools the recreations and games have suffered severely. The system ignores altogether as elements in a sound education those relating to physical training and the development of character.<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that this question of the effects of the stimulus of the Examination system on the physical and moral development of growing boys is a very important one, and if it leads to any permanent deterioration in the health and vigour of the young, it cannot be too strongly condemned. But as far as my experience goes, I cannot recall a single instance in which lasting injury has been done to any boy or young man by

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1888, p. 618.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence of the Very Rev. Father Delany before the Commissioners on Irish Intermediate Education, as reported in the *Tablet* of January 28, 1899.

excessive devotion to study. I believe that such instances do exist, but my impression is that they are so exceedingly rare as to be in practice a negligible quantity. Nature provides a safeguard in the lassitude and incapacity for further exertion, which soon gives warning when her laws have been neglected. The boy simply cannot go on working. The red signal of danger goes up at once, and the intellectual train comes to a standstill. Those who have charge of him find that the quality of his work suffers, and that he sits with his books before him without learning anything. The evil remedies itself, and no permanent harm is done. Are our young men in Oxford and elsewhere less vigorous in mind and body than they used to be? Why, it is a notorious fact that the youth of the present day belonging to the upper class are better grown and better developed now than they were fifty years since. Work hard and play hard is the order of the day, and though an article in the *Spectator* not long since maintained the thesis that the present want of repose among boys (which means industry in work and heartiness in games) has been injurious to many a boy, yet it had to confess that the supposed evil was not a permanent one, but that before manhood was reached, its bad effects had altogether disappeared. And though I heartily concur with Father Delany's criticism of the Intermediate Examinations in Ireland, yet every new system must be at first an experiment, which has to be modified as time goes on and its defects manifest themselves, and the incidental mischief which has there arisen is no indictment against the useful stimulus of Examinations in general, but only affects the particular system of which it is, after all, in no way an essential part.

2. I now come to the second end which Examinations set before themselves, which is to secure a supply of competent men for the various professions, and the service of the Government. Here it is that the Examination system has effected the most widely reaching change, not to say revolution. In former days Commissions in the Army were purchased, and the purchaser had to pass an Examination that was little more than nominal; now the system of purchase is abolished, and there is a keen competition for commissions. Formerly the Teaching Fellow of a College, whether Tutor or Lecturer, was nominated by the Head of the College from among those who had passed on from a Scholarship to a Fellowship as a matter of course after his degree; whereas now the Teaching Fellow is elected after an



Examination, on which the Teaching body of the College report to the whole body of the Fellows, and they, or a majority of them, elect the new Fellow by their collective vote. In former days, the old "John Company Wallah" was a young man nominated by one of the old members of the East India Company that then were the governing body of India, and on such recommendation was sent out to take the post of Commissioner or Assistant Judge, after a period of training at what was then the East India College at Haileybury; now the "Competition Wallah," who has taken the place of the old "John Company Wallah," is elected on the results of a severe Competitive Examination, which is open to all British subjects. What is true of the India Civil Service is true of most of the departments of the Home Civil Service, and the posts in the War Office, the Home Office, and also the Customs, the Revenue Office, and even the Post Office, are in great measure filled up on the results of open Competition. Of old any one who wished to do so could become a solicitor or barrister, now a man cannot enter on the profession without a previous qualifying Examination, which is not technical and professional, but general, and intended to ensure his having received a good general education. In all these and other professions also the powerful hand of the Examination system has been laid on the young man who is starting on his career in life. In all these cases the object aimed at is to secure the best qualified men to conduct the special business of the department or the profession on which he desires to embark.

When I compare the old with the new—and I have lived long enough to remember the old system when it was still in force—when I ask myself whether we have really secured a better set of men to the work of the various professions, I find the result of my experience to be that on the whole the change has been certainly a change for the better, but that the gain has not been an unmixed one. I find that the disadvantages connected with the change were, that after the first enthusiasm of it had passed away, certain serious evils sprang up, which were the result of adopting it with too exclusive an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from it, and without a sufficiently careful consideration of the drawbacks, both essential and accidental, that were found to be bound up with it. Thus there were excluded from the Army a number of men who would have been most useful and efficient officers, simply because they were not able to acquire a sufficient amount of book knowledge; and, on the other hand,

a number of youths were gazetted who were first-rate hands at working out difficult mathematical problems, or translating a Greek chorus, but who had none of the qualities befitting a soldier's life. So, too, there were complaints many and loud of the Competition Wallahs, whom open competition sent out to serve the Indian Government; they were not gentlemen, they had no tact or knowledge of the world; they were mere book-worms, who had no idea of the means necessary for ruling India and managing the natives. The same difficulties occurred, and still occur, in the Home Civil Service, to secure a place in which is the almost universal ambition of clever boys belonging to the lower middle or lower classes. "What are you going to do with your boy?" I asked the other day of a keeper of a tramps' lodging in the slums of Oxford, which I occasionally visit. "Well, sir, I'm thinking of the Civil Service for him," was the prompt reply. The same question put to a woman who keeps a small general shop which brings her in a scanty livelihood, evoked the same answer. Of course a large number of such ambitious parents discover in due course of time the futility of their hopes, and as a rule the boys who have the talent and perseverance necessary for success are for the most part competent for their work, but there are many departments in which their social inferiority and want of general cultivation is a serious evil. In the University itself the same disadvantages of the election of Fellows on the mere result of a Competitive Examination have sometimes been severely felt. Men have in many cases been elected to do the work of a College who were perhaps first-rate mathematicians, or distinguished in the Classical schools, but who introduced into the College where they were elected an element of disorder for which their ability made no sufficient compensation. "When I came up to Oxford in former days," was the remark of a London barrister, who had had experience both of the old and new system of Election to Fellowships, "I knew that I was certain of meeting at the High Table of my College cultivated gentlemen; but now I encounter a set of barbarians, who have no manners, who hold the most extravagant opinions, and who are always quarrelling among themselves." Even where there was a happier state of things than this, the newly-elected Fellow often had a far fonder love for the College where he was an Under-graduate than for that to which he had been elected a Fellow.

Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, I am distinctly of opinion that the system of election to all these various posts



has been a real improvement on the various systems that preceded it. Under the old system of patronage, it was practically impossible to exclude the frequent occurrence of jobbery, and the nomination of inferior men, who were relations or friends of the man who had the right of nomination. In spite of an Englishman's sense of justice and of personal responsibility, the temptation to provide a good position for life for son or nephew, or to reward political support by the bestowal of some advantageous post in return for service rendered, was too strong for human nature, and consequently many of the nominees were, if not absolutely incompetent, at least very inferior to those who ought to have occupied such posts. The system of purchase limited the officers of the Army to the sons of rich men, and introduced into it a large number of men without any sort of ability or fitness for their profession, who desired simply to lounge away their lives in luxury and fashionable idleness. Of the inferiority of the holders of Fellowships in the University under the old system I have already spoken. Where Scholarships led on to Fellowships as a matter of course, and the idea of the Tutor having an individual responsibility in regard to his pupils was almost unknown, it was scarcely possible that the teaching could be efficient, or the teachers hardworking. In point of fact it was scarcely possible for a man to get high honours in those days unless he spent a considerable sum on a private Tutor outside the walls of his College. All this has now happily passed away, and though other influences helped to produce the change, and among these, above all and before all, the indefatigable energy and self-denying devotion of Dr. Jowett, yet I do not think that he and those who trod in his footsteps would ever have been able to accomplish the transformation of the Tutorial system, if the old system of close Fellowships had still been in force.

But if there are such serious objections to both systems, to choice upon Examination results as well as to choice on nomination, or purchase, or some scheme of regular succession, I shall be asked whether I have any plan to put forward as lacking the disadvantages of both. I think this question has already been to a great extent answered by the common sense of Englishmen, brought to bear on their experience of facts. The entrance to the Army is now not altogether a matter of competition, but a qualifying Examination is all that is required from those who have served in the Militia, or have passed certain

Oxford or Cambridge Examinations. The Civil Service is, indeed, still open to competition in many of its departments, but the Examinations have been so modified within the last few years, that residence at a University has become, if not indispensable to success, at least almost indispensable.<sup>1</sup>

In the election to Fellowships at Oxford the electing body of late have taken into account various other qualifications, besides mere excellence in the papers set to the candidates, and have in several instances elected without any Examination at all, forming their judgment from careful personal inquiry, and by their knowledge of a special fitness of the candidate to do the intellectual or other service to the College of which it stood in need at the time of the Election. Thus it is that Englishmen are prone to carry out the work of remedying some existing evil. They at first employ some drastic remedy, which has counter-vailing evils of its own. As these evils develop themselves, they modify the change that has been made, and so at length arrive at a compromise between the old system and the new, which combines the advantages of both, or at all events avoids the difficulties which are sure to arise in the practical working of a system that is the result of a keen realization of existing abuses, and employs to put an end to them means, the full effects of which are not clearly foreseen.

3. The third object at which the Examination system aims is to direct the studies of the young into profitable channels. How much time is lost to almost every student by ill-directed study? Sometimes books are read which are absolutely valueless as means of developing the faculties and cultivating the mind; sometimes the course of study is such as to furnish no solid foundation of the knowledge needed in after-life; sometimes the method of reading pursued only gives a surface acquaintance with the books read, and does not enable the student thoroughly to master any of them. Against all these dangers a good Examination system ought to make its object to provide. Under this aspect, perhaps more than any other, Examinations are a powerful engine for good or for evil. No Examination system can be absolutely perfect as a guide to the student in the subjects and the system of his studies; but we may lay down certain principles which must underlie every sound Examination system.

<sup>1</sup> In the last three Examinations about half the successful candidates had taken their degree at Oxford, a third at Cambridge, and most of the remainder at Scottish or Irish Universities.

*a.* The first condition of a good Examination system is that it must enforce a plan of study which shall be the best possible education for those who are to present themselves for it, and the one that is the best calculated to train them for a successful career. With this object, it must enforce as far as possible a thorough grounding in Classics, or Mathematics (and up to a certain point in both), for all those whose education is to be really a liberal education, and who are to take a high place, either in literature, or in any other of the liberal professions. Whether Greek should be exacted in every case is a disputed question which lies outside the scope of the present paper; but this I do not hesitate to say, that for the development of the intellectual faculties, and as a means of enabling a man to acquire the gift of clear and vigorous expression, there is no modern language, not even German, which is half so valuable to the young as Greek. No nation ever had the same power of clothing their thoughts in language so powerful, and at the same time so elegant, as the Greek. To translate into idiomatic English Thucydides and Æschylus, is to my mind a better intellectual gymnastic than even to translate Tacitus and Virgil. Even those whose tastes incline rather to the precision of thought and power of reasoning that is developed by Mathematics cannot afford to dispense altogether with Classical training, and the two ought to run side by side, at all events during boyhood. Hence every good Examination system will lay the greatest stress and give the highest marks to Classics and Mathematics; and though in the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations and other middle class Examinations, it may be well to give an alternative of modern languages, yet to place them on a par with Greek and Latin is a confession that the Examination is rather practical than ideal, and is suited to a class who are intellectually and socially content with what we may term a Middle class education.

*b.* In the second place, it is one of the requisites of a good Examination system that it does not encourage the presenting of a large number of subjects as a condition of success. *Ne multa sed multum* must be its motto. The Matriculation Examination of the London University is in this respect most prejudicial to the intellectual interests of those who make it the end of their school course. To succeed in it it is necessary to know a little Latin, a little Greek or German, a little French, a little Mathematics, a little English history, a little English literature, a little

Physics, a little Chemistry, a little Science. Such a programme as this is necessarily demoralizing ; it is impossible to attain any thorough acquaintance with a single subject where so many have to be presented. A candidate may be a first-rate scholar or mathematician ; he may be master of French and German, both language and literature ; he may have attained a very high standard of proficiency in English History or in physical science ; but this, so far from being in his favour, is a disadvantage, on account of the practical impossibility of such a one acquiring, in each and all of the farrago of subjects required, the necessary modicum of knowledge expected of him, very small though this modicum may be.

*c.* A good Examination should also give a sufficient choice of subjects to encourage individual and special talent. This rule, however, applies only to the Examinations of those whose tastes are already formed, and not to those who are still very young. For these last Classics and Mathematics should be a universal specific. Yet even during the school course there is always a distinct trend in the direction of either Classics or Mathematics ; and often in older boys some further taste manifests itself, for English literature, *e.g.*, or modern languages, or history, or chemistry, or engineering, or drawing, and it is well that these various tastes should have scope in all open competitions after the age of fifteen or sixteen. Yet they should always appear as subsidiary subjects until the mind is thoroughly formed, and the marks given to them should be only a small fraction of those given to the two great engines of mental gymnastic, Classics and Mathematics.

*d.* A fourth requisite of a good Examination, viewed as a means of directing the studies of youth, is that the knowledge required for it should be so acquired that it may remain as a lifelong possession, and not pass away and be neglected as soon as the Examination is over. In other words, it must be knowledge which, as far as is possible, cannot be crammed. For if I understand aright the meaning of that expressive word, the process of "cramming" consists in acquiring (or imparting) knowledge simply and solely for the purpose of doing well in the Examination, without reference to its utility, or any concern whether it is afterwards retained or not. Such knowledge is undigested, and cannot therefore afford any nourishment to the intellectual powers. Now it is the aim and object of every good Examiner to defeat the Crammer. Yet to do so is a labour of Hercules,

and the large number of crammers for the various competitive Examinations proclaims that at present the Examiner has made but little headway against his slippery foe. I imagine that the Honour Examinations at Oxford and Cambridge are, on the whole, more proof against the possibility of cram than any others in the world. One of the best proofs of this is that the Commissioners for the Civil Service Examinations have of late assimilated their Examinations as far as possible to the Honour Examinations of the Final School at Oxford and at Cambridge. At both Universities one of the chief reasons for insisting on three years' residence for the Degree, is to obviate the possibility, as far as may be, of a system of cram. There is, indeed, as in all human things, a countervailing danger on the opposite side, and an Examination which seeks to render cram impossible by not allotting certain prescribed books and subjects limited in their range, runs the risk of discouraging industry, and giving too much weight to mere native talent. But a judicious combination of prepared and unprepared passages, of subjects requiring careful study and at the same time giving scope to original talent will afford, and in many existing Examinations does afford, a happy medium, which, if it is not absolutely ideal, at least approaches an ideal as far as it is possible for an Examination system to do so.

There still remains one important question. Supposing that we have made our Examination system as near to perfection as possible, giving a sufficient stimulus to the student, enabling us to discover the best men, and free from the dangers of cram, what is to be the limit of frequency of Examinations, and of the age after which they should altogether cease? Every one will allow that as time goes on they should become less frequent, and that they should cease altogether when the time of mental formation is over, unless it be for professional and technical purposes. We may also take it for granted that a certain consensus exists as to mere school examinations, and that we cannot improve on the present system of holding them yearly or half-yearly. But when the boy has passed into his early manhood, when we are dealing with what is, perhaps, from an intellectual and moral point of view (and for the matter of that, if Plato is right, from a physical point of view also), the most critical time of all, what is the effect, for good or for evil, of frequent Examinations? It may seem at first sight that the more Examinations, the greater incentive to study, and that therefore the more Examinations

the better, so long as they avoid the dangers to which I have alluded, and are modelled on the best possible system. But this is very far from being the case. Experience has shown that too frequent Examinations have a most pernicious effect on the highest intellectual life. The reason of this is not far to seek. A good Examination is not a mere Examination of the knowledge of certain facts, otherwise it would be mere memory work.

Whatever may be the subject that a man is studying, he does not study it for the mere sake of the facts that he makes his own. Facts have no educational value, except in so far as they enable us either to verify or correct principles already existing in our minds, or else to build up principles by a process of induction from the facts themselves. If I am studying the history of France during the eighteenth century, the real interest and the real value of my reading is not to be found in the details of the grinding tyranny which preceded the Revolution, or of the hideous excesses that accompanied it, but in certain general principles that I deduce therefrom respecting the results which will infallibly follow from a system of government that oppresses the governed in the supposed interests of the governing classes. If I am studying medicine, it is not for the sake of obtaining an acquaintance with the symptoms of disease on the one hand, and of the effects of certain drugs on the other, but I am seeking to arrive at certain general principles, respecting the conditions of life that produce health and sickness, and respecting the means to be employed in order to promote the one and check the other. Above all, if I am engaged in the study of any branch of philosophy, my aim and object is not to have a mere empirical knowledge of the human mind and its various faculties, or of the consequences of certain course of actions in promoting the well-being of mankind ; it is rather to build up from the facts observed a set of principles which may be my guides in matters intellectual and moral, and, if necessary, to correct, and to test by means of my observations, the principles or the theories previously existing in my mind as the result of my education, or of my previous experience, or which I had learnt from the lips or from the writings of other men. Now in all these cases the object aimed at is the attainment of truth, and not the adoption of a theory which explains or seems to explain some of the facts, but which is liable to break down if the facts are more carefully investigated, or if I take into account a number of other facts which had not at first come within the range of my observation. The too rapid adoption of a convenient theory is likely to be very



injurious to the attainment of solid truth. In mathematics, indeed, and in the physical sciences, where immediate verification of the conclusion is possible, the danger scarcely exists; but in the mental and moral sciences, in psychology, ethics, and politics, in which a false theory may live and flourish for centuries and bear all kinds of evil fruit, without their connection with the parent tree being recognized, any influence that encourages in the student the hasty adoption of doubtful and unverified theories, is likely to be most pernicious to him in his search after truth.

Now this is just what too many Examinations do. It is the aim of every one who is preparing for an Examination to collect materials for satisfying the Examiners at the cost of the least possible expenditure of time and research. Hence the natural tendency of Examinations will be to lead the student to adopt, without a sufficient examination into their truth, any theory which seems to explain the facts, whether it be derived from books, or from the oral instruction of his teacher. He cannot afford the time for independent research. It would not *pay* for any Examination, however skilfully devised. This is an advantage in the case of those whose unformed minds are incapable of forming opinions for themselves. They must of necessity adopt the opinions of their teachers. So long as their teachers are lovers and teachers of truth, this is altogether as it should be. But when manhood approaches and the student begins to think for himself, this adoption of the ideas and opinions of others is a very questionable advantage, at least for the best men. Perhaps the majority will never think or reason for themselves, and for them a good teacher is an intellectual boon, so long as his own principles are good. But for men who have real talent, and perhaps a dash of genius, the necessity of preparing for frequent Examinations stunts their intellectual growth, and prevents them from thinking for themselves.

Outside of the domain of Faith, no man of original ability is willing to take the ideas of another, and make them his own without careful examination into their accuracy. If he is induced to do so by the necessities of an approaching Examination, he will adopt them only provisionally and in a half-hearted kind of way. The very undesirable result of this is that he will acquire the habit of stocking his mind with a number of theories against many of which he instinctively rebels, and this will breed a cynical temper, and an unreality of mind which is a serious bar

to a love of truth for its own sake. His mental furniture will consist of a number of unverified opinions, about which he does not feel at all sure whether they are true or whether they are false. For Examination purposes this state of mind has stood him in good stead, and enabled him to give the opposing theories of various schools of philosophy with a sympathetic appreciation of each, but it is very fatal to the attainment of truth, and is prone to leave a habit of mind destructive rather than constructive, critical and even sceptical, rather than positive and in the happy possession of certainty. This seems to be borne out by the prevalent tone of thought among intellectual men in the present day, to which indeed other causes have contributed, but in which the Examinations, and especially the philosophical Examinations of our Universities, have had a considerable share.

Another result of too frequent Examinations is to cramp the powers of our ablest men. Examinations compel the mind to walk in leading strings, and Genius revolts against leading strings. It forces those who are capable of original research and original thought into a certain channel, in which they feel themselves ill at ease. The continual strain of the Examination system exhausts their energies and checks their enthusiasm while they are students, and when their days of studying for Examinations are over, they too often, in the capacity of teachers, are still subject to the same strain and have to devote energies which need a freer scope to the imparting to others the traditional theories which they have themselves provisionally accepted. They have no intellectual leisure, either as students or as teachers, and the result is that they never attain the eminence of which they are capable, and which they would have reached if they had not been subject all their lives through to the servitude of the Examination system. How is it that in the present day our Universities produce so few whose names are known outside, as compared with those who were the outcome of the old system that was abolished in 1852? Before that year there was one Examination, and one only for Honour men, and that was at the end of their residence in the University. Under that system were produced Mansel, Goldwin Smith, Newman, Pusey, Jowett, Liddell, Conington, Keble, Max Muller, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, Whately. Under the new system, which has inserted a new Examination in the middle of the Honour Course, how few we have had whose names will compare with these intellectual heroes of the past.

At the same time I am free to admit that the change has



done much to give a stimulus to the industry of the ordinary student, and the average attainments of the present body of Oxford men is far higher than before the change was made. It might be said that it is far better to have a good general average of intellectual stature, than to have a few giants and the rest pigmies. But we must not forget that there is a vast difference between the physical and the intellectual order. The physical giant does nothing to improve the physique of others, whereas the intellectual giant has an almost unlimited influence in improving the intellectual growth of his contemporaries, and of those that come after him. Whether the advantage lies on the side of the past or the present I will not attempt to decide. I merely note the change, to which I think our more frequent Examinations have at least contributed.

To sum up. Our present Examination system, though it is not perfect, seems to me, on the whole, to be about as perfect as any Examination system can be. Even now continual improvements are being introduced into it, as the results of our experience of its working. Our great danger is at the present time a too rapid growth and an excessive development of it. Yet even here there are marks of a reaction. The danger to health is sufficiently met by the ever-increasing watchfulness of medical men, and by the activity in athletics, which has gone hand in hand with the advancing activity of the brain. The deficiencies of a mere Examination as a mode of choosing suitable men for the Army, the Civil Service, and for our Professions have been modified by the freedom of choice exercised by the electors and by various alternative methods of selection, which involve no mental strain. The tendency of Examinations to force men into one groove is obviated by the variety of alternative subjects; the too great frequency of Examinations is even now occupying the attention of some of the best men at our Universities and elsewhere, and I do not think that there is much danger of our imitating the degenerate Chinese in their mischievous multiplication of them. In a word, the Examination system appears on the whole to be in harmony with the general condition of the country, which is, through God's mercy, one of undoubted, and perhaps unparalleled prosperity.

R. F. C.

### *Shakespeare and the Song of a Lark.*

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INTENSELY blue was the soft midsummer sky and the air transfused with June sunshine bathed all things in a glorious, golden haze of living warmth and loveliness—calm and still lay the quiet country-side with its flowery meads and meadows, full-foliaged trees, and gently murmuring streams—calm and still in the noonday heat, no breezes scattering the widely-opened petals of the dog roses in the luxuriant tangle of the hedgerows, or rippling the purple bloom and silvery sheen of the ripe grasses in the hay-fields. All was still, except for the monotonous, joyous singing of a solitary lark, and this singing seemed indeed to add to the wonderful peacefulness of the scene, to be an epitome, as it were, of all soothing, elevating influences, most fittingly to belong to Shakespeare's own country, to his pleasant world of sunshine and shade, fair green pastures, blossoming brakes and shadowy woodlands.

Through meadows such as these had he often strolled in the sunshine of June—in the cheerful warmth of noontide—and, as in his time, the wild marigolds, the “flowers of middle summer,” shone forth like tiny suns, side by side with field daisies, honey-stalks, and lowly love-in-idleness, the sweet-faced heartsease; whilst still long-purples and tender willow-herb, with rosy bloom, marked the courses of the streams, fragrance of lush woodbine stealing through the air, and mingling with aromatic odours of wild thyme and wholesome minthe; and, even as in the old days, the lark sang on—sang on unceasingly:

Hark! hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings,  
And Phœbus 'gins arise  
His steeds to water at those springs  
On chaliced flowers that lies;  
And winking Mary-buds begin to ope their golden eyes;  
With everything that pretty is—My lady sweet, arise; arise, arise.

How freshly and eloquently had that jubilant song broken from Shakespeare's lips, “a wonderful sweet air, with admirable

rich words to it"—and how long its joyousness had continued to find an echo in the hearts of the young and happy. But it was not only the gay ecstasy of life and love that was read into the wordless, unending melody of the lark's singing, for even as it rose high above earth, so also the poet's soul had risen higher and still higher, ever giving ear to holy and eternal verities—the harmonies of heaven.

Earthly happiness might he sing for the moment, but it was everlasting bliss—immortal beauty that held him indeed enthralled, and listening to the song of the lark he poured forth his own songs of deliverance from bondage of the world—the praises of a divine mistress, even of her whom the Wise Man has described as "more beautiful than the sun and above all the order of the stars, . . . as the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness!" . . .

True to the kindred points of heaven and home the hymns of praise had been uttered—the wonderful recording of heavenly as well as earthly devotion—divine friendship as well as human friendship.

It was Shakespeare's Sonnets that were in my thoughts this June morning; and the words of one of the pilgrim songs had kept recurring to my mind, seeming to mingle in some mysterious way with the ever ascending singing of the lark:

There was no bird, only a singing,  
Up in the glory, climbing and ringing,  
Like a small golden cloud at even,  
Trembling 'twixt earth and heaven.

I saw no staircase winding, winding  
Up in the dazzle, sapphire and blinding  
Yet round by round in exquisite air,  
The song went up the stair.<sup>1</sup>

The pilgrim song, to which I have just referred, is the twenty-ninth sonnet—that sonnet where most mournfully Shakespeare speaks of the trials that surround him on every side.

In disgrace with fortune and men's eyes; an outcast, and without hope, full of the thought of his own shortcomings and infirmities, desiring this man's art and that man's scope, with things most enjoyed least contented, in the midst of weary

<sup>1</sup> Katherine Tynan.

sorrow and deep repining, a sudden sense of joyous escape comes to him—a vivid realization of the love which is immovable—the heavenly wisdom that can alone bring lasting consolation and deliverance from earthly cares.

Haply I think on thee—and then my state  
 (Like to the lark at break of day arising  
 From sullen earth) sings hymns at heaven's gate ;  
 For thy sweet love remember'd such wealth brings  
 That then I scorn to change my state with kings !<sup>1</sup>

The last words echoed and re-echoed in my memory, and seemed to be a commentary, as it were, on the new thoughts that had lately come to me regarding the sonnets. In an entirely unscientific and uncritical way I had always delighted to pore over these wonderful and mysterious love songs, and the solemn utterances occurring, now and again, had impressed me deeply as they must impress even the most careless and superficial of readers. Yet they had remained as a whole profoundly enigmatical, "The strange imagery of passion which passed over the magic mirror had no tangible evidence before or behind it" for me as for others ; and the theory that they were merely the record of the strong, manly affection existing between two friends, seemed the most insufficient and inconclusive of readings.

The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together, and one reads the history of that mingled yarn in the sonnets, but what was it that enabled Shakespeare to rise above the ills of life so triumphantly, what was it that made him scorn to change his state with kings—surely something more than the friendship of the young Earl of Southampton ?

The identification of the "other poet" with Dante—the suggested influence of St. Augustine—the high, ideal position given to the mysterious mistress whose praises are so fervently sung—whilst giving strange new insight, also awakened a crowd of conjectures and imaginings opening out most far-reaching and fascinating fields of speculation. Quite accidentally had I come across these "New Views of Shakespeare's Sonnets,"<sup>2</sup> and although not able to follow all the conclusions, this effect had at least been brought about : it was impossible now to read the sonnets without the thought of Dante rising up ghost-like—the great mind of St. Augustine making itself visible—giving explanations of things before unexplainable ; whilst pre-

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1885.

eminently shone out the continual presence of that holy mistress chosen above all others.

And it was here, too, as regards the lady of his love, that Shakespeare's close connection with Dante was most plainly revealed.

Both poets adored the same mistress, there could be no doubt about that, and both were equally eager to do her all honour in their verse.

Celestial wisdom, veiled with Dante under the form of the fairest of women—under the dazzling beauty of Beatrice—appears to Shakespeare in the guise of one embodying all manly as well as all womanly excellence, an adumbration, as it were, of humanity in its highest, most God-like aspect—reaching to divinity.

A woman's face, with nature's own hand painted,  
Hast thou, the *master-mistress* of my passion ;  
A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted  
With shifting change, as is false woman's fashion ;  
An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,  
Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth ;  
A man in hue, all hues in his controlling,  
Which steals men's eyes, and women's souls amazeth. . . .<sup>1</sup>

This is how Shakespeare sings of his mistress, the lord of his love, to whom he is so strictly bound in vassalage, and in whom he finds all inspiration—all the worth that is to be discovered either in his art or his life. "Thou art all my art" we hear him exclaiming in the seventy-eighth sonnet :

Thine eyes, that taught the dumb on high to sing,  
And heavy ignorance aloft to fly,  
Have added feathers to the learned's wing,  
And given grace a double majesty.  
Yet be most proud of that which I compile,  
Whose influence is thine and born of thee :

And again in the seventy-ninth sonnet :

I grant, sweet love, thy lovely argument  
Deserves the travail of a worthier pen ;  
Yet what of thee thy poet doth invent  
He robs thee of, and pays it thee again.  
He lends thee virtue, and he stole that word  
From thy behaviour ; beauty doth he give

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet xx.

And found it in thy cheek ; he can afford  
 No praise to thee but what in thee doth live.  
 Then thank him not for that which he doth say,  
 Since what he owes thee thou thyself doth pay.

There seems to be an echo in these words of that more solemn and sacred utterance of St. Augustine's :

Thou receivest back what Thou findest, without ever having lost ;  
 Thou art never poor, yet rejoicing in gains ; never avaricious, yet  
 exacting usury, Thou receivest over and above, that thou mayest be  
 indebted, and yet—who has anything which is not already Thine  
 own ? . . .

Such deep reverence has Shakespeare for his heavenly mistress that at times he dreads even to speak of her fame, and especially when he thinks of the "better spirit" who spends all his might in hymning her praises.

Again and again come these references to his brother-poet, but although ever acknowledging Dante's supremacy with grateful ardour, he also recognizes that the pursuit of the same object gives them, as it were, a certain equality, and another consoling thought comes in the closer consideration of the high object of his devotion. It is her very greatness which makes it possible for him to dare all things.

But since your worth (wide as the ocean is)  
 The humble as the proudest sail doth bear,  
 My saucy bark, inferior far to his,  
 On your broad main doth wilfully appear.  
 Your shallowest help will hold me up afloat,  
 Whilst he upon your soundless deep doth ride ;  
 Or being wreck'd I am a worthless boat,  
 He of tall building, and of goodly pride ;  
 Then if he thrive, and I be cast away,  
 The worst was this ;—my love was my decay.<sup>1</sup>

As Dante had sailed forth upon the soundless deeps of wisdom, so also Shakespeare in his lighter, more humble craft, had ventured out upon her shallower waters ; and still bewailing his inability to express what he feels regarding his mistress's infinite perfections, he exclaims :

This silence for my sin you did impute  
 Which shall be most my glory being dumb ;  
 For I impair not beauty being mute,  
 When others would give life, and bring a tomb.  
 There lives more life in one of your fair eyes  
 Than both your poets can in praise devise.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet lxxx.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnet lxxxiii.

Then going on with the same theme, the impossibility of making plain what is in his heart, and with another reference, or so it seems, to his brother-poet of the golden quill, he continues :

I think good thoughts, while others write good words,  
And like unletter'd clerk, still cry "Amen"  
To every hymn that able spirit affords,  
In polish'd form of well-refinèd pen.  
Hearing you praised, I say, "'Tis so, 'tis true,"  
And to the most of praise add something more ;  
But that is in my thought, whose love to you,  
Though words come hindmost, holds his rank before.<sup>1</sup>

"In polished form of well-refinèd pen," wrote Dante, but neither the thought of his astounding genius, of his perfect art, or even the consideration that he, too, was a pilgrim bound for the same prize—the same "all-too-precious" mistress—affected Shakespeare in any overpowering degree. But when the discovery was made of that mistress's actual and abiding presence in his rival's verse, he was "struck dead," as it were, with astonishment and deepest awe.

Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,  
Bound for the prize of all-too-precious you,  
That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inhearse,  
Making their tomb the womb wherein they grew ?  
Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write  
Above a mortal pitch that struck me dead ?  
No neither he nor his compeers by night  
Giving him aid, my verse astonished.  
He, nor that affable familiar ghost  
That nightly gulls him with intelligence,  
As victors, of my silence cannot boast ;  
I was not sick of any fear from thence ;  
But when your countenance filled up his line,  
Then lack'd I matter that enfeebled mine.<sup>2</sup>

Having set a great and holy mistress upon his heart's throne, with all the swifter insight and prescience he discovered her presence in the proud full sail of Dante's verse, and most dazzling must have been to him the revelations of that presence—the bright entrancing presence of the *Toda di Dio Vera*, the Blessed Beatrice, who in glory gazes into the face of Him, *qui est per omnia sæcula benedictus*. . . .

As the fair personification of celestial wisdom—of "the living and glorified principle of the beatitude which religion pure and

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet lxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnet lxxxvi.



holy confers upon those who embrace it—appeared the lady of Dante's love, and "early in life," as he says in the *Vita Nuova*, caused

the spirit of life, which dwells in the most secret chamber of the heart to tremble with such violence that it appeared fearfully in the least pulses, and trembling said these words: *Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi!*—"Behold a god, stronger than I, who coming, shall rule me!" . . . At that instant, the spirit of the soul, which dwells in the high chamber to which all the spirits of the senses bring their perceptions, began to marvel greatly, and, addressing the spirits of the sight, said these words: *Apparuit jam beatitudo vestra*,—"Now hath appeared your bliss." At that instant the natural spirit, which dwells in that part where the nourishment is supplied, began to weep, and, weeping said these words: *Heu miser! quia frequenter impeditus ero deinceps*—"Woe is me wretched! because frequently henceforth I be hindered."

Shakespeare began his new life later than Dante, and it has been said by some commentators on the sonnets, that it was the death of his eldest son that first brought him face to face with the graver problems of life—that it was from this period of intense suffering might be traced the turning of his great soul towards heavenly things.

Yet it also seems, from the internal evidence of the sonnets, as if not only the death of his son and the first approaches of old age played their part in the change that came over him, but that the general instability, the turmoil and unrest of the age in which he lived, most strongly and deeply affected him.

In all the chaos of the Renaissance period—in its medley of new opinions, new theories, shifting, kaleidoscopic glories—he never lost sight, as it were, of the past, and the flower of the aloe bloomed beneath the touch of his magic wand. He was himself a crowning blossom of that past, and in these later days when youth with its joyous mirages had vanished, and the stern realities of life had claimed him for their own; he turned impetuously from all the vagueness of the present time, stepping back upon the firm rock of ancient days—the Eternal Beauty—the Truth which cannot be moved. With Dante he saw the things which are eternal in the heavens—the voice speaking to his spirit which had spoken to Dante's spirit, and with him he might have exclaimed: "Behold a god, stronger than I, who coming, shall rule me!"

Alas, 'tis true, I have gone here and there,  
And made myself a motley to the view,  
Gored mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear,  
Made old offences of affections new.  
Most true it is that I have look'd on truth  
Askance and strangely ; but, by all above,  
These blenches gave my heart another youth,  
And worst essays proved thee my best of love.<sup>1</sup>

No longer looking "askance and strangely" on truth, in its light he sees light, and most regretfully bewails "the public means which public manners breeds" that past life of his which has branded his name and almost subdued his nature—

To what it works in like the dyer's hand : <sup>2</sup>

Double penance will he do, no bitterness will he think too bitter for his correction,<sup>3</sup> and with deep anguish he asks himself the question, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?"

Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,  
Fool'd by these rebel powers that thee array,  
Why dost thou pine within, and suffer dearth,  
Painting thy outward walls so costly gay?  
Why so large cost, having so short a lease,  
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?  
Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,  
Eat up thy charge? Is this thy body's end?  
Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,  
And let that pine to aggravate thy store;  
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;  
Within be fed, without be rich no more:  
So shalt thou feed on Death that feeds on men,  
And Death once dead there's no more dying then.<sup>4</sup>

"Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross," one is reminded here of that fine passage in the *Convito*, where the soul is described as a pilgrim.

The supreme desire of everything, and that first given by nature, is to return to its source; and since God is the source of our souls, and maker of them in his own likeness as is written, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," to him this soul chiefly desireth to return. . . .

Shakespeare at this turning-point in his life sees very plainly the utter worthlessness of the things which before had seemed to him most precious and most desirable—like Dante's pilgrim he

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet cx.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnet cxi.

<sup>3</sup> Sonnet cxi.

<sup>4</sup> Sonnet cxlvi.

desires the Supreme Good—and the deepest feelings of his heart are offered up to the celestial mistress of his choice.

"My spirit is thine, he cried," even as Dante cried to Beatrice.

My spirit is thine, the better part of me :  
So, then, thou hast but lost the dregs of life,  
The prey of worms, my body being dead ;  
The coward conquest of a wretches knife,  
Too base of thee to be remembered.  
The worth of that, is that which it contains,  
And that is this, and this with thee remains.<sup>1</sup>

He has chosen the higher part, and although his lower nature, his "female evil"—his "worser spirit"—still uses all endeavours to tempt his better angel from his side,<sup>2</sup> he rests in the confidence of that love born in his soul for her who is to his thoughts as food is to life—as "sweet-season'd showers are to the ground," as gold is to a miser,<sup>3</sup> of her whose eternal summer cannot fade.

Commit to the Truth whatever the Truth hath given thee, and thou shalt lose nothing ; and what has been decayed in thee shall bloom again, and "all thy diseases shall be healed," and thy frail members shall be re-formed and renewed ; and knit together to thee again : nor shall they, as they hang down, bring thee low with them, but with thee shall stand, and for ever abide before that God "Who remaineth and abideth for ever."<sup>4</sup>

St. Augustine's words may well have been in Shakespeare's mind as he wrote of the golden time seen through the windows of old age "despite of wrinkles ;" of the hope that came to him at the darkest moment of his life and made it possible for him to say :

O, benefit of ill ; now I find true  
That better is by evil still made better ;  
And ruin'd love, when it is built anew  
Grows fairer than at first, more strong, far greater.  
So I return rebuked to my content,  
And gain by ill thrice more than I have spent.<sup>5</sup>

The first sonnets, which appear to be but a lament that youth and beauty should be of so transitory a nature, lead up to the same high conclusions.

First painting in vivid colours the coming on of old age when "youth's proud livery so gazed on now, will be a tatter'd

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet lxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnet cxliv.

<sup>3</sup> Sonnet lxxv.

<sup>4</sup> *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, bk. iv. chap. xi.

<sup>5</sup> Sonnet cxix.

weed, of small worth held," he goes on to speak of those things which give youth immortality; and turning from the contemplation of his own face, "Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity," he looks into the countenance of his mistress, finding there the youth and beauty belonging not to time but to eternity. He has chosen wisdom for his bride, and this bride gives him all that he would otherwise be deprived of, and in which alone he can glory—

'Tis thee (myself) that for myself I praise,  
Painting my age with beauty of thy days !

And again :

So I made lame by fortune's dearest spite,  
Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth ;  
For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,  
Or any of these all, or all, or more,  
Entitled in thy parts do crowned sit,  
I make my love engrafted to this store ;  
So then I am not lame, poor, nor despised  
Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give,  
That I in thy abundance am sufficed,  
And by a part of all thy glory live.<sup>1</sup>

These later sonnets explain the earlier sonnets, and make one understand that it is ever the soul's union with wisdom that is sung.

Immortality and inward worth go hand in hand ; and it is this "inward worth"—its reproduction in noble outward form—which conquers old age, makes beauty everlasting.

The marriage desired is the marriage of true minds,<sup>2</sup> and the increase desired is nothing else than fruitfulness in every good thought, word, and work. . . . For as Augustine, Shakespeare's greatest teacher, says, "Deeds and words are fruit and leaves." "Our works are our children." "He that liveth unto God singeth unto God."<sup>3</sup>

*"Et omnia quæcumque fecerit prosperabuntur," id est quæcumque illud lignum attulerit ; quæ omnia videlicet accipienda sunt fructus et folia, id est, facta et dicta.*<sup>4</sup>

In our works our youth shall be renewed, and the measure of the beauty of the mind is the worth of the deeds performed. No longer profitless usurers, the great sum of sums entrusted

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet xxxvii.      <sup>2</sup> Sonnet cxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *New Views of Shakespeare's Sonnets.*

<sup>4</sup> From St. Augustine's Commentary on Psalm i.

to our care shall not run the risk of being entombed with us, but shall live our executor to be.<sup>1</sup>

The rose of summer distilled, preserves its fragrance when summer is gone, and "in substance still lives sweet."<sup>2</sup>

Another sun shall in the orient lift up his burning head, and the true concord of well-tuned sounds by union married be heard in our lives.<sup>3</sup> The reproach of unthriftiness and want of altruism cannot be made, or the world left a childless widow.

In this multiplication of the talents given us, "lies wisdom, beauty, and increase, without this folly, age, and cold decay."<sup>4</sup> The highest beauty is but held in lease, but it rests with us whether we are profitable or unprofitable servants, and even as an astronomer foretells good or evil fortune, so it can also be prophesied that truth and beauty shall thrive together if bringing forth brave store of virtuous actions.

It is in his mistress's fair eyes that Shakespeare reads this prophecy, and in her holy presence he discovers, indeed, remedies for all the ravages of time. Turning from the thought of old age, he presently deplores the friends he has lost through death—the "precious friends hid in death's dateless night;" but still the note of joy comes at length—even in the midst of his heavy sorrow—his ever new grief.

Losses are restored and sorrows end, he cries, as he thinks of the love in which all love and friendship find their fulfilment.

Thy bosom is endeared with all hearts,  
Which I by lacking have supposed dead;  
And there reigns love and all love's loving parts,  
And all those friends which I thought buried.  
How many a holy and obsequious tear  
Hath dear religious love stolen from mine eye,  
As interest of the dead, which now appear  
But things removed, that hidden in thee lie!  
Thou art the grace where buried love doth live,  
Hung with the trophies of my lovers gone,  
Who all their parts of me to thee did give;  
That due of many now is thine alone:  
Their images I loved I view in thee,  
And thou (all they) hast all-the-all of me.<sup>5</sup>

How strikingly suggestive is this sonnet of that passage in the *Confessions* where St. Augustine is also speaking of the death of friends.

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet iv.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnet v.

<sup>3</sup> Sonnet viii.

<sup>4</sup> Sonnet xi.

<sup>5</sup> Sonnet xxxi.

Hence that grief, when one dies, and that dark cloud of sorrow, and the heart steeped in tears, all sweetness turned into bitterness; and from the loss of the life of the dying, the death of the living. Blessed is he who loves Thee and his friend in Thee, . . . for He alone loses no one dear to Him, to whom all are dear in Him who can never be lost.<sup>1</sup>

But again and again throughout the sonnets come the wonderful glimpses of a deeper meaning underlying the apparent sense—glimpses of the transference of a great soul's allegiance—of the birth of a new life. By all means in his power Shakespeare seems to strive to disguise the true feelings of his heart, chiefly through a sense of his own unworthiness—a dread lest he should bring disrepute upon the name of his liege lady.<sup>2</sup> Yet ever through this determined concealment that note of rapture sounds—the hope of summer in the midst of winter-time, of youth renewed in greyness of old age, of friendship made eternal. Now seeing but through a glass darkly, how will his eyes be blessed made when he at length looks upon the face of his beloved one in the living day—on the face of her whose “shadow shadows doth make bright.”

Like to the lark  
That warbling in the air expatiates long,  
Then, trilling out his last sweet melody,  
Drops satiate with the sweetness; such appear'd  
That image stamp'd by th' everlasting pleasure,  
Which fashions like itself all lovely things.<sup>3</sup>

CONSTANCE HOPE.

<sup>1</sup> *Confessions*, bk. iv. ch. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnet xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Paradiso*, canto xx. 65—70.

## *Prophecies of Future Popes.*

### PART II.

BEFORE we make any attempt to solve the problems involved in the fabrication of the so-called prophecy of St. Malachy, it will be necessary to say a few words about the prophetic literature which had been widely current in Italy long before the date of this forgery. The subject has been discussed in an essay of Dr. Döllinger, and with his usual erudition he has left a wonderfully complete picture of the craving for a knowledge of future political events which has prevailed at almost every period of history and in every country of Europe. The middle ages by no means enjoyed a monopoly of this strange amalgam of curiosity on the one hand, and credulity on the other, nor were the ecclesiastics of Papal Rome the only men diplomatic enough to turn it to account. Oliver Cromwell, whose honesty of purpose is so belauded by his admirers, caused the political events which he intended to bring about to be inserted in the almanack beforehand,<sup>1</sup> and the astrologers he employed for the purpose acquired in consequence a very considerable reputation. William of Orange or his party caused to be published in March, 1668, a printed letter purporting to have been written by a Quaker, in which the Holy Ghost was declared to have revealed to a member of the Society of Friends that in October a great change would take place in the kingdom, and that in the month following King William would come to England from over the sea. So again, we learn from Lord Bacon, that in Elizabeth's time a rhyme was current which many men repeated and believed in:

When HEMPE is spunne  
England's done,

where HEMPE was supposed to indicate the initial letters of the five sovereigns who followed Henry VII., *i.e.*, Henry VIII.,

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger, *Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit*, English translation, p. 8. The original is printed in his *Kleinere Schriften* (1890), p. 450.



Edward VI., Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth. "The prophecy," says Bacon, "thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of name; for that the King's style is now no more of England but of Britain."<sup>1</sup> But to understand how large a part these adages and prognostics played in the life of the Middle Ages one must make acquaintance with some such work as that of Dr. Franz Kampers on the prophecies concerning the succession to the Empire.<sup>2</sup> Under the names of Merlin, of Telesphorus, of the Erythræan Sibyl, of Anselm Bishop of Marsico, of Ægidius Polonus, and especially of Blessed Joachim of Fiore, a whole library of predictions was in circulation, spread abroad in manuscript copies during the Middle Ages, and after the invention of printing disseminated still more widely in numbers of different editions. The prophecies of the Abbot Joachim were popular beyond all the rest. He was no mythical personage, but a monk of great personal holiness, included by the Bollandists amongst the *Beati*, though never formally beatified. He left behind him a commentary on the Apocalypse, and other prophetic writings, the authenticity of which is not disputed.<sup>3</sup> The contemporary chroniclers, Roger Hoveden, Ralph Coggeshall, and Benedict of Peterborough, all of whom wrote while Joachim was still living, give long accounts of the visit paid to this holy Abbot in Calabria by King Richard Cœur-de-Lion on his way to the Crusade. Benedict, writing before the event, declares roundly that Joachim expounded the Apocalypse to King Richard, and prophesied the complete overthrow of Saladin, and the proximate expulsion of the Saracens from the Holy Places.<sup>4</sup> Hoveden, who wrote a few years later, perhaps in 1193 or 1194, makes the Abbot predict in similar terms the ultimate triumph of the Christians, but delays the accomplishment of the prophecy until seven years after the capture of Jerusalem. Ralph Coggeshall later still declares that Joachim prophesied that Innocent III. should have no successor in the Chair of

<sup>1</sup> Bacon's *Essays* (Works, Edit. Spedding, vi. 464).

<sup>2</sup> *Kaiserprophetien und Kaisersagen im Mittelalter*. Von Dr. Franz Kampers. München, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> At the same time a great deal of what passed under the name of the Abbot Joachim is unquestionably spurious. This is particularly the case with the so-called prophecies of the Popes, though they were the most widely diffused of all the writings attributed to him.

<sup>4</sup> "Et ipse (Saladinus) in proximo amittet regnum Jerosolimitanum et interficietur, et milvorum rapacitas peribit, et erit illorum strages maxima qualis non fuit ab initio mundi; et fiet habitatio eorum deserta et civitates illorum desolabuntur; et Christiani revertentur ad amissa pascua et nidificabunt in eis." (Benedict, ii. p. 152.)

Peter, but that the reign of Antichrist would follow so immediately that he (Joachim), in the ordinary course of nature, might live to see it. These reports contradict the utterances of Joachim himself in his genuine and undisputed works, and though they are recorded by contemporaries, they must obviously be received with great suspicion. It was most natural that the crusading prelates and barons in the train of Richard should send home a highly-coloured version of what their leader had been told by a prophet whose reputation stood so high. Dante, a century and a half later, places him in the heaven of the sun with St. John Chrysostom, St. Anselm, and Rabanus :

Rabano è qui, e lucemi da lato  
Il Calavrese Abate Giovacchino  
Di spirito profetico dotato.<sup>1</sup>

However, we are only concerned with the Popes, and it seems practically certain that, although the Abbot of Fiore did deliver himself of some mysterious utterances on the subject, those that were current under his name in the fifteenth century were a fabrication of much later date. Whatever their real nature may have been, they were certainly very famous. In Trevisa's English translation of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*, which was finished, as the translator himself mentions, in the year of our Lord 1387, we are told, after a reference to the interview with Richard : " Men seith also of this Joachyn that he descryvede as it were by prophecie the maneres, and dedes and nombre of all popes that shulde be in holy chirche," a description which corresponds fairly well with the collection of mysterious apothegms, fifteen or thirty in number, and adorned with fantastic illustrations,<sup>2</sup> which were so widely circulated in print and in manuscript during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. It would not readily be believed, by any who had not actually inspected the manuscripts, what a wealth of artistic ornamentation was often lavished upon these worthless fictions. The British Museum possesses at least five copies of the so-called prophecies of the Popes attributed to Joachim,

<sup>1</sup> *Paradiso*, xii. 139—141.

<sup>2</sup> The idea that pictorial representations were in some way associated with the Abbot Joachim's prophecies seems to have been deeply rooted. It was believed that, before the birth of St. Francis and St. Dominic, he not only foretold their life and their work, but that he caused representations of them to be painted in the Church of St. Mark at Venice, each in the habit of his respective Order, St. Dominic with a lily, and St. Francis with the stigmata. The absurdity of the story, however, has been exposed by Father Papebroeck in the *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. vii. p. 138.

two of them having been transcribed from the printed editions as late as the seventeenth century. One of these two, that numbered Harleian 3,483, has been most laboriously written out in a large folio volume in letters which imitate print, the old woodcuts being replaced by wash-drawings of very considerable artistic merit.<sup>1</sup> The other three manuscripts belong to the fifteenth century, and are all apparently of Italian origin, two of them dating from the Papacy of Eugenius IV. (1431—1447). It would be hard to find a more sumptuous specimen of fifteenth century miniature work than is offered by one of these, Harleian 1,340. It consists of fifteen leaves, with a gorgeous full-page illustration on the *recto* and *verso* of each leaf, making thirty pictures in all. Down to the time of Eugenius IV., the name of the Pope whom the prophecy is supposed to indicate is written at the top of the page, and the prediction itself appears at the foot. One of these pages, the sixth in order, I have had photographed and reproduced for the present article on a reduced scale, but the reproduction can give no idea of the brilliancy of the colouring, nor indeed of the delicate execution of the original.<sup>2</sup>

The genuine prophesyings of Blessed Joachim were probably not so foolish as these forged prognostics of later date, but owing to some indiscreet zeal on the part of his disciples, they were ultimately the cause of great dissensions in the Church. Like many another devoted reformer, the Abbot of Fiore seems to have been possessed with a deep sense of the evils of the times, and he foretold that the hour was at hand when the rigour of God's justice would be manifested to the world, and the corruptions of Church and State be visited with terrible chastisements. These predictions were combined with a general expectation of some extraordinarily holy and able Pope, who would purify the Church and reform abuses, an idea which finds expression in the writings of the famous English Franciscan, Roger Bacon, who is supposed by some to have been the earliest to announce the advent of this "*Papa Angelicus*."<sup>3</sup> The *Papa*

<sup>1</sup> It is erroneously dated in the Museum Catalogue, 1589. This is merely the date of the printed edition from which it was copied. I should judge from certain marginal pencillings that it must have been transcribed about the middle of the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup> The other two fifteenth century MSS. are Add. 15,691 and Arundel 117. The pictures in the latter are coarse and roughly drawn, but the volume also contains, with other matter, an abridgment of the prophecy of Telesphorus.

Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (Brewer, Rolls Series), p. 87; Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 97.

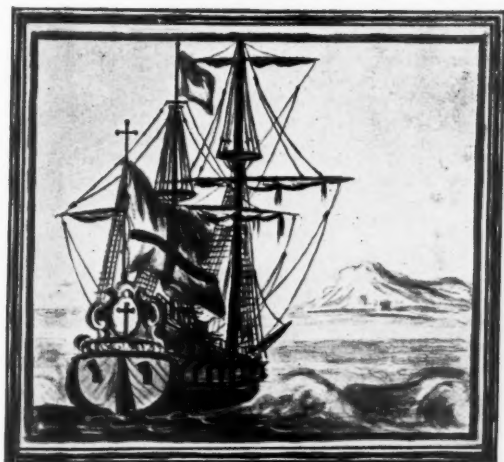
*Angelicus* was long in coming, but for three centuries we may say that men's minds were in a state of acute tension, expecting some revolution, some catastrophe, they knew not what. Even a man like Machiavelli was sufficiently in touch with the religious unrest of his time to deliver himself of the famous utterance, *Esser propinquo senza dubbio o la rovina o il flagello*. What did come at the end of all this waiting was neither the long-dreaded Turk, nor the triumph of paganism, nor the *Papa Angelicus*, but a very different thing, the great schism of Luther. But even in 1522 the old dream still held sway. In a work called the *Mirabilis Liber*, which appeared in that year, we find it revived in the following consoling announcement, which occupies a most conspicuous position at the beginning of the book :

From these prophecies and revelations, if they are narrowly looked into, it will appear that a supreme Pontiff, conspicuous for his sanctity of life, will shortly be raised up from the most religious kingdom of France, who, under the blessing of Providence, will be earnest in establishing peace among Christian nations, and in reforming different classes of men, those more especially who profess a holier way of life, and who, through the injury of time, have degenerated from their former fervour. He will recover the Holy Land from the power of the Turks, and will bring the light of God's truth to those who are now the enemies of the Christian faith.

The same belief in the advent of the *Papa Angelicus* will be found reflected a few years earlier in the chronicle of Stefano Infessura.<sup>1</sup>

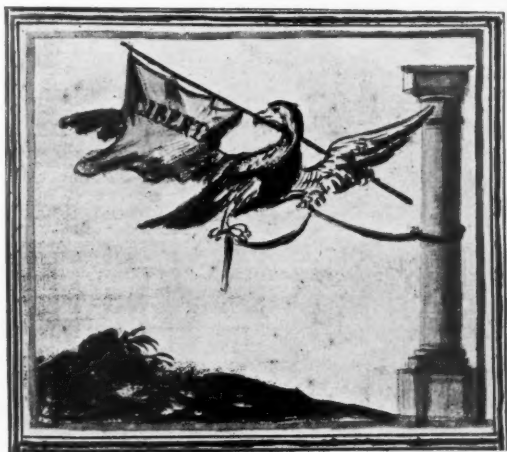
The prophesyings of Blessed Joachim and of his followers, which were by no means confined to prognostics of the future Papacy, produced an extraordinary effect in the thirteenth century, and led to a kind of schism in the Church, of which we find the echoes in almost every country in Europe. So far as Joachim himself was concerned, his vaticinations seem to have been free from any intentional political bias, however much they may have been misused and interpolated by those who came after him. Telesphorus, however, of Cosenza (c. 1386), who gave utterance to similar prophecies about the future successions to the Imperial throne, seems to have been by no means equally guiltless of a desire to influence the course of events. His treatise, still extant in a number of different MSS., and

<sup>1</sup> See the edition of Thommasini, p. 265, and the heliotype reproductions in the same volume from the miniatures of the Codex Vaticanus, Reginæ 580.



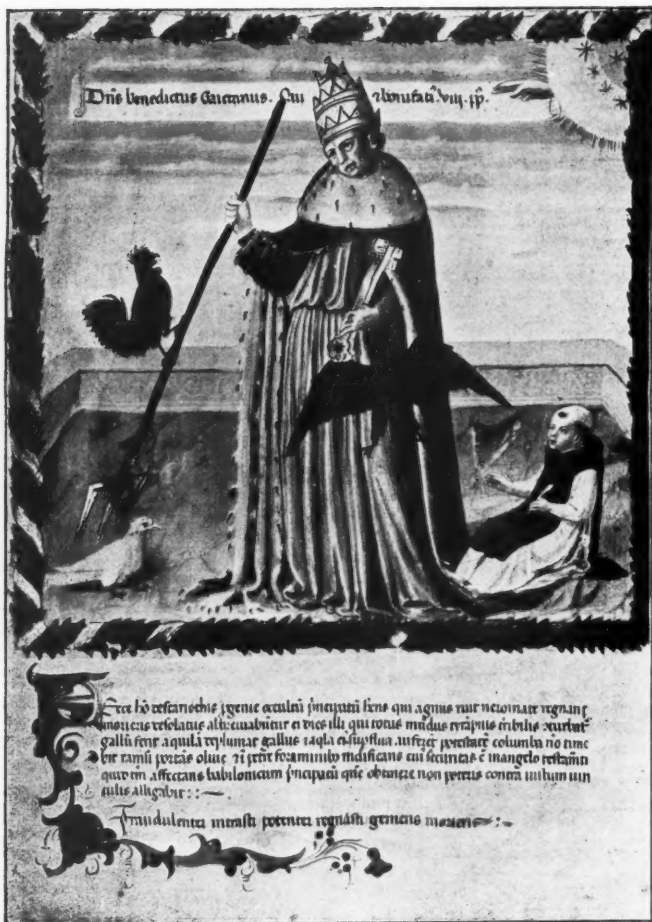
SUPPOSED PROPHECY OF AN ARAB ASTROLOGER  
(REFERRED TO CLEMENT XII.)

Exibit crux de Sebito et induet calceamentum furtivum,  
privabit prævio furto, sudabit præ mærore contumiscet in  
flagitiis et inter Lilia pilos in Mundo convescet et augebitur  
de bonis alienis.



SUPPOSED PROPHECY OF ST. JOHN CAPISTRAN  
(REFERRED TO CLEMENT XII.)

Ædificium stabile fructus feret divinos, columna immobilis  
Ecclesiæ.



Ecce homo de Scariothis progenie occultum principatum habens, qui agnus ruit neromate regnans, morieris desolatus. Abbreviabuntur ei dies illi qui totus mundus tyrampnis terribilis conturbatur. Gallum ferit aquilam deplumat. Gallus et aquila ejus superflua auferent; potestatem columba non timebit ramum portans olive, et in petre foraminibus nidificans cui securitas est in angelo testamenti quid tantum affectans babilonicum principatum quem obtinere non poteris; contra justum vinculis alligabit.

Fraudulenter intrasti, potenter regnasti, gemens morieris.

A PAGE OF JOACHIM'S POPE BOOK.

(Harleian MS. 1,310.)

often adorned with sumptuous miniatures,<sup>1</sup> was dedicated to Antoniotto Adorno, Doge of Genoa, and was marked by a very strong sympathy for the French party in Italy, as opposed to that which favoured the Germans. Telesphorus for his materials drew largely upon the writings of a certain John de Rupescissa, or de Roche-Taillade, who, despite his long residence in France, has been claimed for an Englishman named Cutcliffe.<sup>2</sup> This last fact, however, seems very questionable.

Among the seemingly genuine works of John de Rupescissa, we find mention of a commentary upon the set of Papal prophecies which begin with the words *Ascende calve*, and are ascribed to Joachim and Anselm.<sup>3</sup> This is the set of thirty prognostica already referred to, and the mention of the fact is interesting, as helping us to advance a stage nearer towards assigning a date to the compilation in question. It seems clear that it was already famous in the time of Ralph Higden and John de Rupescissa, who both belong to the middle of the fourteenth century, and in this case the suggestion of Father Papebroeck that it was a forgery of the opponents of Urban VI. during the great schism falls to the ground. On the other hand, we may be satisfied that it is later than the time of Popes Boniface VIII. and Benedict XI., who reigned at the beginning of the century. No one who will study the details of the inscription accompanying the miniature reproduced above from MS. Harl. 1,340, can doubt for a moment that it was written with a distinct reference to Boniface VIII. by one of the party so bitterly hostile to his memory. Many of the chroniclers indeed have obviously allowed their accounts of the Pope to be inspired by this venomous libel. "Thou hast entered by fraud, thou hast reigned as a tyrant, thou shalt die in misery," is a translation of the shorter motto, which we also find in the chronicles commonly in this form: "He shall creep in as a fox, he shall reign as a lion, he shall die like a dog."<sup>4</sup> It will be remembered that Boniface stands charged, though quite unfairly, with having instigated St. Celestine to resign the Papacy, and then with having cunningly ingratiated himself with the

<sup>1</sup> Pastor enumerates some twenty manuscripts of Telesphorus in the different libraries of Europe; one is bound up with a copy of Joachim's Pope Book in the Arundel Collection at the British Museum. See *Geschichte der Päpste*, i. 131.

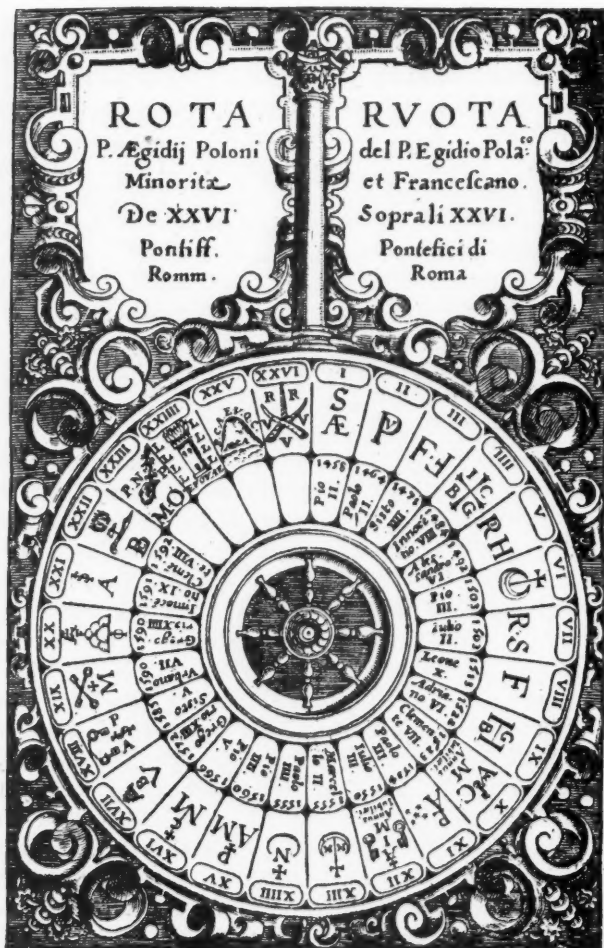
<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Kampers, *Kaiserprophetien und Kaisersagen*, p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. the *Diario* of Stefano Infessura. Edit. Thommasini, p. 4; Korner, *Chronica Novella*, pp. 34, 209.



with Pius II. in 1458. At the time when the book appeared, Clement VIII. was still reigning, and four prophecies remained to be fulfilled. The tiny pictures designed for each are so small



that it is not very easy to identify their subjects. The mottoes belonging to them are these :

XXIII. Biceps animal erit pax non quasi pax ; lætitia mea in cordibus jubilantium.

XXIV. Turris fortitudinis in defensionem piorum longum annum videbit maxima.

XXV. Roma aspera in maxima liberalitate dicit *alleluia* per breve tempus.

XXVI. Post hos veniet bellua maxima cornibus armata sub qua dicent *vel, vel* et iterum *vel*.

If any of my readers can find a connection between these mottoes and the four Popes, Paul V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., and Innocent X., who ought to be represented by them, they are more skilful in the interpretation of prophecy than I am.

How great was the demand for this kind of literature is indirectly shown by the expedients adopted to prevent the supply from failing. The list of thirty Popes provided for by the prognostic, attributed to Joachim and Anselm, had run out at the election of Alexander VI. One might have supposed that no more would have then been heard of Joachim's Pope Book than is heard of last week's newspaper or last year's almanack. But no, it was much too good a thing to be allowed to perish. Accordingly, some ingenious person started the theory that the lists of fifteen were not absolute and terminable, but recurring. They formed a cycle in fact, and when you got to the end you began again, an idea which probably suggested the dial arrangement of the learned Girolamo Giovannini. Anyhow, the notion found favour, and many proofs might be given of its popularity. Let me content myself here with noticing that the British Museum MS. of pseudo-Joachim, Harl. 3,483, has pencilled in the margin of the figures and mottoes the names, not of one Pope only, but of two or three others, to show they were supposed to apply in due succession. Thus the first motto was supposed to be verified in Nicholas III., Sixtus IV., and Sixtus V., Sixtus IV. being the fifteenth Pope from Nicholas and Sixtus V. the fifteenth Pope from his namesake. So again the *fraudulenter intrasti*, with the picture thereto belonging, as we have been considering it, is not, on this theory, the unique distinction of Boniface, but the honour is shared by Leo X. and Leo XI., who again are separated from each other by fourteen intermediate Popes.

Even in the last century the interest in these Papal prophecies seems to have continued unimpaired. I have before me a manuscript volume written out with some care, which belongs, as the title-page informs us, to the reign of Pope Benedict XIII. (1724—1730). The book contains twenty coloured illustrations and mottoes very much in the style of the Joachim books. Ten of these are the prognostics which were assigned by ten different

authorities to the reigning Pope, Benedict XIII. The other ten are all supposed to refer to his then unknown successor. The pictures and mottoes in themselves offer but little of interest. We find amongst them the prognostics both of Joachim and Anselm, arrived at on the recurring-cycle principle as just explained. Amongst the other prophets are included B. Enos, B. Walter the Hermit, St. John Capistran, and—Nostradamus! One other feature may be noticed as illustrating curiously the power of coincidence and the utterly illusory character of all



SUPPOSED PROPHECY OF B. ENOS OF ARLES (REFERRED TO BENEDICT XIII.)<sup>1</sup>

these prognostics. There can be no question, as I have said, that the last ten mottoes and pictures are meant all to apply to the Pope next to be elected after Benedict XIII., who was, in fact, Clement XII. If however any one, as might easily happen, decided, upon a rather casual examination, that the prophecies were meant to describe, not the same Pope, but a succession of Popes, we should find some extraordinary hits which would quite throw into the shade anything occurring in the latter portion of Malachy's list. Corresponding, for instance, to the position of Pius VI., we have an eagle, holding in its beak a red flag marked *Libertas*, and endeavouring to soar upwards. But a cord is attached to each foot, and the extremity is knotted round

<sup>1</sup> The motto accompanying the picture runs thus: "A somnio contracti (*sic*) jam arboris sublevabuntur; ipse vero celerissimo (*sic*) motu cultionem dando gregi, fructum suum dabit tempore suo."

a solid column. Below we find the inscription, *Ædificium stabile fructus feret divinos, columna immobilis Ecclesiæ*—"A firmly planted building shall produce Divine fruits, the pillar of a changeless Church." Who would not have said that the eagle with the banner of liberty typified the French Revolution, and that the solid column and the rope which restrained the eagle's flight, designated in a striking way the Church and the relations of Pius VI. with Napoleon. Or again, corresponding more or less to the position of Leo XIII. in the series of Popes, we find depicted a cross between two cypress-trees, and a star or comet blazing above. The picture recalls at once the arms of Leo XIII., and the legend below is hardly less appropriate: *Lumen tenebrosus super cupressus ululans* (sic? *rutilans*) *ad infortunia dicenda monebit*—"A light amid the darkness, gleaming above the cypress-trees, will warn us to tell a tale of woe."

For the benefit of those who may feel disposed to believe in another prophet, who however, unfortunately, must have got confused as to the application of his prophecies, I have reproduced the picture of the next *vaticinium* after that which seems to fit so appropriately the pontificate of Leo XIII. It represents a ship sailing away from the land, bearing a large banner marked with the Cross. The legend, which I do not profess to be able to translate, will be found printed beneath it.

These facts, which have occupied much more space in the telling than I had foreseen, were intended originally to illustrate two points: first, that prophetic mottoes designating the future occupants of the chair of St. Peter were familiar throughout all Christendom for centuries before we come across any trace of the prophecy of St. Malachy; and, secondly, that the publication of them, and the interest they excited, was by no means confined to the time of the *sede vacante*, when the election of a new Pope was in progress. I have thought it necessary to insist upon this latter point, because the theory at present in favour inclines to regard the prophecies of St. Malachy as originating in a conclave, a conclusion for which no sufficient evidence has yet been adduced.

Returning then once more to the list of mottoes which are fathered upon St. Malachy, I may point out briefly that two suggestions have found favour as to their origin. The first, which has been advocated by Hermann Weingarten,<sup>1</sup> lays the fabrication at the door of the monk who first published them,

<sup>1</sup> *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1857, pp. 555, seq.

Dom Arnold Wion. The German professor points out that Wion gives absolutely no account of the document, or of how it came into his hands, that it has never been shown to exist in any other copy than that which appeared in Wion's book, and that this book proves the author's intimate acquaintance with the two separate editions, the Quarto and the Folio, of the *Epitome* of Panvinio, from which, as has been shown in my previous article, the list attributed to St. Malachy has almost certainly been fabricated. I may add one other item on the same side, which seems to have escaped the notice of Weingarten. The only point in which I have observed that Malachy's list contradicts the data supplied by Panvinio is in the case of Pope Clement VI. Panvinio, in both editions, calls him Bishop of Arles—*episcopus Arelatensis*—as also does Ciacconius, but Malachy's motto for him is *ex rosa Attrebatensi*—"from the rose of Arras." Now, in this departure from Panvinio, the pseudo-Malachy is right and Panvinio is wrong. Clement VI. had been Bishop of Arras, not of Arles. It becomes a little suspicious then, when we find Wion in another place in the same book correcting Panvinio from his own personal knowledge:

This Pope [he says of Clement VI.] is described by Panvinus in his *Epitome* in 4to as Archbishop of Arles (*Arelatensis*), which I think must be a misprint for Arras (*Attrebatensis*); for history is silent about any such bishopric of his at Arles. On the other hand, we have just quoted what Thomas (Walsingham) says about his election to the see of Arras, and this statement is confirmed by the lists of the Bishops of Arras and the pictures of the same, which are to be seen in the Church of St. Mary at Arras, where His Holiness Clement V. is represented with the insignia of the Sovereign Pontiff, as I have myself more than once seen them.

None the less, I do not think that any argument can be built upon this circumstance. If Wion had the list of Malachy's supposed prophecies, and believed them to be genuine, it is extremely natural that, coming across a designation which he knew from his personal investigations to be erroneous, he should treat it simply as a blunder of the copyist, and change *Arelatensi* into *Attrebatensi* without calling attention to the substitution. As an argument, this circumstance adds nothing to the case against Wion, and I must confess that the weight of evidence seems to me strongly against his being himself the forger.

This view is also the conclusion of Prof. A. Harnack, who

in an article in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*<sup>1</sup> has treated this question with special reference to the theory of Weingarten. He points out that the aim of Wion's book was confessedly the glorification of the Benedictine Order. A man who was unscrupulous enough to fabricate a document like the so-called prophecy of St. Malachy, would certainly not have hesitated to give special prominence to the Benedictine Popes in the prophecy, and to call attention to the fact that they had been Benedictines. Now, in this prophecy, although the Dominican Popes are noted as Dominicans, nothing shows the least Benedictine bias. Again, if Wion had fabricated the list he would surely have made it accurate up to date, and have supplied interpretations down to the time at which the list was printed and given to the world. But this is not the case. The interpretations stop with Urban VII., who died in 1590. The *Lignum Vitæ* of Wion appeared in 1595, and in the interval three Popes had succeeded—Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., Clement VIII., none of whom can be said in any way to fit their mottoes. A forger would certainly have managed better.

Prof. Harnack accordingly reverts to the theory suggested long ago by F. Menestrier, the first critic who satisfactorily demolished the prophecies of pseudo-Malachy. He considers that the fabrication had its origin during the long *sede vacante* which preceded the election of Gregory XIV. in 1590, and that it was devised in the interest of the senior of the College of Cardinals, Cardinal Simoncelli, Bishop of Orvieto, who was plainly designated by the motto assigned to the Pope next in order—*Ex antiquitate urbis*, Orvieto being etymologically, as every man of any little education would have known, *Urbs vetus*, the old city. In support of this theory, Prof. Harnack appeals very strongly and forcibly to the fact pointed out in my previous article, that in the whole long list of mottoes up to that date, the designations are entirely derived from circumstances of the life of each Pontiff *previous to his election*. It was the forger's object, he thinks, to show that the prophecies were always taken from something which belonged to him as Cardinal.

It must be pointed out that this argument, specious as it may appear, is not wholly convincing. The fact that the mottoes were elaborated out of Panvinio, sufficiently explains why they are confined wholly to the circumstances of each Pope's life before his election. Panvinio, as already explained, said nothing about the actual Papacy, but only of the Pope's

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. pp. 315, seq.

antecedents, and the forger who used Panvinio naturally confined himself to what he found in the book before him.

Without entering, then, into a discussion which would occupy more space than can here be afforded, I must content myself with stating that the expenditure of a good deal of time upon this particular problem has brought me to the conclusion that the fabrication of the prophecy had nothing to do with the conclave of 1590, but must be assigned to the three or four last years of the life of Sixtus V. There can be no question that Simoncelli, in 1590, was an absolutely impossible candidate. We have a number of different accounts of the famous conclave which finally resulted in the election of Gregory XIV., but in no one of these that I have seen is there the slightest allusion to Simoncelli as a possible occupant of the Papal Chair. What motive could a man have for fabricating so elaborate a prophecy, which he must have known with absolute certainty would be falsified in a few weeks' time. Again, there is no mention of any party who supported the interests of Simoncelli, no hint of any ruse by which a prophecy was brought into play to influence the voting.<sup>1</sup> The whole struggle lay between the Spanish faction and the party identified with the policy of Sixtus V., led by his nephew, Cardinal Montalto. Even two or three years earlier, when Simoncelli was less old and decrepit, there was no talk of him as a likely Pope. In MS. Additional, 28,463, there is an interesting *discorso* on the chances of the various Roman Cardinals, in July, 1589, less than a year before the death of Sixtus V. Simoncelli is not even mentioned as *papabile*. Castagna, who, according to a contemporary account, was recommended to the Cardinals by Sixtus, on his death-bed,<sup>2</sup> and Mondovi (Laureo) are regarded as the most probable candidates. Sfondrato is also described as "running very near the Papacy." He succeeded as Gregory XIV., after the short pontificate of Urban VII. (Castagna), but is objected to by the author of the memorandum, on the ground that he wore a perpetual smile, which many people found irritating.

<sup>1</sup> A considerable number of "Relations" of the events of this conclave are to be found amongst the MSS. of the British Museum. Most of these are repetitions of the account given in the *Histoire des Conclaves*, but not all. Then there is the narrative of Germonius, printed in the *Monumenta Historie Patrie*, and the *Diario* of the Master of Ceremonies, Aleoni. Not one of these says a word of Simoncelli as a possible Pope, much less speaks of any prophecy being used to advance his candidature.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Add. 21,382, fol. 140a. The same MS. contains a sonnet on the conclave held on the death of Sixtus V. All the prominent Cardinals are introduced, but not Simoncelli.



If, therefore, Simoncelli was really designated by the motto *ex antiquitate urbis*, this could only have been when the possibilities of the future seemed remote and ill defined. And this appears to agree with the intrinsic probabilities of the case. It seems to me almost obvious that any forger who took the trouble to fabricate such a document, would not be content to look only to the immediate future of the time at which he was writing, and make a guess at a single Pope, but that he would foresee the possibility of a short reign, or a series of short reigns, and would indicate two or three among existing Cardinals as likely to succeed in course of time, perhaps even picking out a few distinguished young men, not yet Cardinals, whom he thought likely to be raised to the purple and to become Pope some day. This is in fact what I believe to have happened in the present case. The list was perhaps fabricated about 1585, shortly after the accession of Sixtus V., and the forger set down the following mottoes as indicating a likely series of Pontiffs among the men he knew then living in Rome.

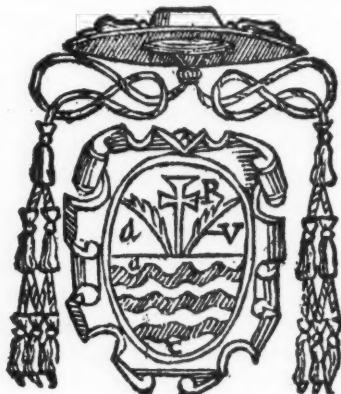
Motto.	Persons designated.
<i>De Rore Celi.</i>	Castagna (or perhaps Mondovi).
<i>Ex antiquitate urbis.</i>	Simoncelli (Laureo).
<i>Pia civitas in bello.</i>	Bellarmino (not then Cardinal).
<i>Crux Romulea.</i>	Santacroce.
<i>Undosus vir.</i>	Baronius (not then Cardinal).

*Pia civitas in bello* seems to me to designate *Bellarmino* in a most marked and obvious way, looking always to the principles on which the early prophecies were formed. The *Pia civitas* was Montepulciano,—the shrine of a saint, the birth-place of a saintly Pontiff whose memory was still green (Pope Marcellus II., who was Bellarmine's uncle)—and itself almost proverbial for the good lives of its citizens.

*Crux Romulea* would fit no one so well as a member of the Roman family of Santa Croce. Cardinal Santa Croce, who was looked upon at the beginning of Sixtus V.'s reign as a most able man, died however in 1588. It is just possible that a nephew of his, who was then living in Rome, may have been regarded by the compiler as likely to be made Cardinal some day, and finally Pope.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the *Ragguaglio della Cavalcata de N. S. Gregorio XIII.*, 1590, by F. Albertorio, among the *signori caporioni* "gorgeously dressed and wearing swords," is named Marcello Santacroce.

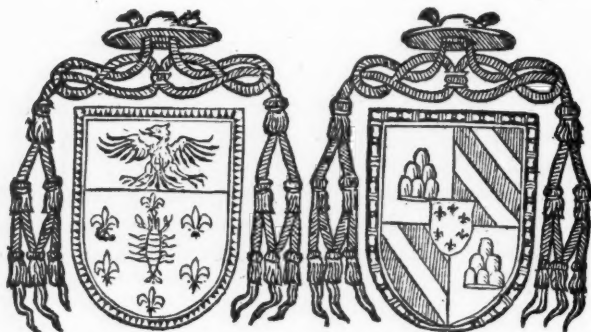
*Vir undosus*, again, was Baronius, whose arms are depicted below. The pens and cross were presumably added when he became Cardinal. The waves in the family arms beneath would have suggested *vir undosus*, just as the arms of Boniface VIII. suggested the motto, *ex undarum benedictione*.



ARMS OF CARDINAL BARONIUS. *Vir undosus* (?).

Let me conclude by saying that one or two references in pseudo-Malachy seem to suggest that it was composed at a time when the newly-made Cardinal incorporated in his arms, in some way, the arms of the Pope who gave him the hat. To judge from Panvinio and Ciacconius this practice lasted until about the middle of the reign of Sixtus, but hardly later. The two specimens below will serve to show its prevalence.

HERBERT THURSTON.



ARMS OF TWO CARDINALS CREATED BY PAUL III. (FARNESE).  
The six Farnese *fleurs de lys* are introduced into both.

## *The American Language.*

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IT was the present writer's fortune to sail many years since from London to Rotterdam with an Austrian gentleman, an amusing companion, and a good linguist. While some of us found interest in tracing the likeness between Dutch, of which none of us knew anything, as shown in various advertisements and notices to passengers, and German, his aim was, on the contrary, to exaggerate and to intensify the differences, and to minimize as far as possible the interdependence of the two languages, and to throw back as far as possible the date of the parent tongue, if indeed there had ever been one. As we returned from a walk in the evening we spent at Rotterdam, our friend said: "Now I see how to spik this dam language; you spik German, and baa like a goat;" and he effected to believe that in so doing he spoke intelligible Dutch. We have known much the same intolerance in the case of a Spaniard, with respect to the Portuguese tongue.

The real fact seems to be that two tendencies are always at work when the same language is spoken by bodies of men, between whom there exists any wide distinction, whether of race, religion, or manners, or even the lesser variance of climate or political institutions; the one tending to the dispersal of language, as at Babel, the other to preserving and consolidating it. As on the boggy ground of a watershed, the change must occur; and near as may be the sources of the Rhine and the Danube their mouths are widely disparate, nor is it possible even at the Lake of Constance and at Pesth to assert that the waters are practically the same. But the comparison we have made is more true of words in a dictionary than in literature. We can indeed find pools of water, or, to use a still older metaphor, show that Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, all the Romance and all the Teutonic languages are branches of one tree; Hebrew, Syraic, Persian, of another; the Mongolian tongues of another; but literature is of a later date than such stems or liquefactions.

We cannot point to any literature which is equally the heritage of two nations whose tongues are separated, unless indeed it may be said that Homer is at once the great parent of modern Greek and the Latin epic, or that the Roman de Rose is the earliest glory of French and English poetry. But to say this would be to ignore the fact that English is in the main Teutonic, and that Greek in any form was at no time the spoken language of the Italian peninsula.

We must come to our own days to find the same old problem presented under changed conditions. From time to time people ask whether in the future of the human race any one language will be pre-eminent. So convenient seems a general medium of communication, that since no one language has been adopted by consent, men have attempted to set aside all past history, to strike out some Volaput all around from the brain of literature, while those who have recognized the futility of such experiments have made calculations of the size and commercial importance of the nations using existing means of communication. There can be no doubt that in range of extent and of commerce English is by far the most widely spread. But, except where the English-speaking people has had the power of exterminating native races, and has taken their place, the native races do not use the English tongue. The Caribs are gone, so practically are the North American Indians, so are the Australian tribes. In India we, rather than the natives of that vast land, have adopted many necessary words, and have learnt so much of the native dialects as we have found convenient, while in countries in which we reside for trade only, a detestable and formless jargon has taken the place of a language, scarcely above the sounds with which a master communicates with his beasts, and his dog with him. Were English supremacy removed from the East, our traces in speech and act would soon be as are the traces of the Roman occupation of Britain in street and castle, in palace and port, and the words which describe that occupation. The case of French is much the same as that of English, except that its effects are even smaller where its material advantages would seem to be greater: in Algeria, in Pondicherry, in French Canada, and in such West Indian islands as Martinique and Dominica.

Looking at the great use made of Spanish in South America, and of Italian in the Levant, each of them in turn

has been designated as the coming language of the world, the redressor of Babel. Italian, especially, is the one pointed out by the Positivist school, and we may cheerfully grant that it is quite as likely to take place as the green banner of the Church of M. Comte is likely to float on St. Peter's, and as the Positivist calendar is to supplant the list of the Church's saints. But there is this fundamental difficulty. In no country to which these languages, Spanish or Italian, have come, have they shown any sign of change in the structure of the language; spelling, the arrangement of sentences are the same. Except when a word is borrowed for convenience, the language is the same in Cuba or the Philippines as in Madrid, in the Levant as in Rome or Florence. There is no sign of growth or change or adaptability; if there be expansion, and so long as a language is alive at all it must expand, the change is in Spain or Italy, and carried, like the Holy House at Loreto, *per mare, per terras*, not built up in the country it has chosen for its inhabitation.

It would appear, however, that our age, which has seen such a wonderful development of philological science, is assisting at the birth of a new language, the *Sprachscheide*, from which are to flow two great fertilizing streams, and that in years to come, just as we now speak of German and Dutch, so will men speak of English and American, and, let us hope, without the acrimony which described a sister tongue as baaing like a goat.

I have long felt persuaded that we are at such a *Sprachscheide*, but it is difficult to point out the precise point of divergence. Each line of Teutonic speech acknowledges, and always will acknowledge, the lingual sway of Chaucer, of Shakespeare, of the translations of the English Bible, but the American need make no boast of George III., while we may share with him a dependence older still, that on Hildebrand and Gregory and Benedict. Spiritual, literary, political dominion are three separate planes on which nations and races may, or may not, claim equality, but neither interferes with the other.

It is difficult to point out the precise place or indication of divergence, and for a while all may seem to be on the same level. No one, for instance, could say from internal evidence that Washington Irving is an American writer, except in those essays in which he himself accentuates the fact, but in these very papers he claims literary descent from Addison. No one could possibly take Mr. Henry James or Mr. Howells for an

Englishman, nor take an American for an English newspaper, even if each occasionally imitates the peculiarities of the other.

It seems to me that we cannot do better than take, as an example of the difference in the literary style of the two countries, a publisher's list of books, issued by William H. Young and Co., of Barclay Street, New York, and show how wide is the difference between us, and how wide it is likely to grow. Let us frankly recognize this, and each go our own way. It were vain to try to turn the Danube to flow out through Holland by the mouths of the Maas ; just as vain would it be to try and write American like Father Spencer the Dominican monk (*sic*), or for Miss Tinker, who writes "witty dialogue and a graceful humor, sharpened by a melancholy cynicism," to imitate well-known authors, for instance, Mr. Austin Dobson.

Americans have long since considered, and decided in their own fashion, of which we do not complain if they do not impose it on us, the mere question of spelling. This, like Mr. Weller's name, depends, as we admit, "on the taste and fancy of the speller," and if the American chooses "to put down a *We*," by all means let him do so. We spell "humour, vigour, honour, labour," as showing the introduction into English through French, and as distinguished from "factor, rigor," taken straight from Latin. So too the same historic fact is obscured in such words as "theater, center, meter," and the like, only these should be admittedly American, not English.

We will allow also that while an Englishman has "travelled," an American has "traveled," and generally that if "go as you please" is to be the system of spelling, there is much to be said for a more phonetic form than obtains on this side of the Atlantic. Only Americans must not complain if another colony, before or after her break-off from the mother country, adopt yet another spelling, as different from the dictionary of Dr. Webster as it is from that of Dr. Johnson.

But, to turn from these trivial points, Messrs. William H. Young and Co.'s publications are advertized in a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, containing not only the titles of books, but puffs and accounts of them, portraits of their authors, and far more information than we are accustomed to find here, and we feel ashamed at knowing so little of writers, even in a foreign language, which is not yet difficult to master.

First, as is only right, comes the Four Gospels, a new translation by Very Rev. F. A. Spencer, O.P. We in England

should say, "*The Very Rev.*," it appears to be American to leave out the definite article. "The name of Father Spencer," we are told, "is a guarantee of the quality of this new translation." It may be so to Americans, but it is none to us, and we know nothing of it but one page, given from St. Matthew xv. Now what does the author promise, and how does he perform it? "No labor, research, or time has been spared in striving to make it as useful to the laity in general, as well as to students, in the way of alternate translations, &c., which make it a valuable book for reference." Now it is quite true, as a character says in one of Mrs. Edgworth's stories, that he may call his hat a *cadevallader* if he pleases, so an American may call "alternate translations" what we call "alternative translations," only let it be recognized that the first expression is not English, nor is the antithesis "as useful," as with us. Nor do we write, "The reader is accustomed to," ending a clause with a preposition. In some future American grammar we may find the word *postposition* as alternate to preposition.

The manner wherein the translator has carried out his work is to use "modern forms" in every case in which they can be employed "without injuring the dignity of the subject." We turn with interest therefore to the one page given us. It is broken up precisely in the same way as an American newspaper with headings:

8. Jesus and Peter Pay the Temple Tax.
9. Further instructions to the Disciples.
  - a. On Humility.
  - b. Against Scandal.

When we examine the translation itself, since in English and American the auxiliaries of the future tense are the same, it is utter perversity to write, "they *will* put him to death," "the third day he *shall* rise again," instead of the same word in both places. Nor is it translation to render a Greek word by a Hebrew, *stater* by *shekel*. "Except ye be converted," is more intelligible than "unless you turn." "Stumble" is as good a word as "sin," and better expresses the meaning of the original. The word *great* is not in the Greek attached to millstone. We do not, of course, object to the American phrase, "hung around," for the English "hanged about," though we notice that it is American, and English writers would say "round," not "around."



We notice on other pages that Brother Azarias lived and died within the cloister, while we say "in," and that the word "but" has ceased to imply a contrast. The French teacher, whose illustration of the use of the word "but" was unsuited to England, would have been an excellent teacher in America: "Your mamma (or rather, momma) has a bad cold, *but* your papa's (or poppa's) boots are too tight." Other phrases are quite new to us, such as, "Rev. Talbot Smith *is out with* a new book," and the word "caption."

The writers, one and all, appear to divest themselves as far as possible from what one of them calls "old time trappings." Among them is the distinction between a monk and a friar. They all incline to that arrangement of sentences which puts the accusative first, a plan to which the Englishwoman inclines, but rarely the Englishman. "Part of the book I have only skimmed," while we say, "I have only skimmed part of the book." "This from an eminent prelate," a priest wrote. "The book will give great offence to the mossbacks." Here we need a dictionary.

Our reason will be obvious for quoting what a publisher says about books, rather than over much from books themselves, save where harm is done to Holy Scripture by a needless and incompetent translator. That might indeed be allowed to die, as the Revised Translation of the Anglican version has died already. But when a translator is faithless to his own principles in such a cause, it is well to protest, as we should do with a version on the same bad lines in French or German.

But America has now taken her own place in literature, she is making a new language, she is coining new words, adopting new phrases, translating her new civilization into speech. Cooper, Prescott, Irving, wrote English. We must continue to watch it, but not be angry or scornful if we see that we have come to the parting of the waters, and that a kindred tongue is forming itself, which our descendants will have to study as we ourselves have to study our earliest poets, as a German has to study Vondel, and a Dutchman, Rhenicke Fuchs.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

## *Catholic Progress in England.*

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### I.

IN a recent article in this Review,<sup>1</sup> incidental reference was made to the subject of Catholic progress in England. The matter is evidently one of considerable interest at the present time, and it therefore seems worth while to deal with it somewhat in detail.

Two diametrically opposite views are maintained by those outside the Church. To one section of Protestants, the progress of Catholicism is a matter for serious alarm, amounting almost to terror. According to them, as represented in their numerous publications, England is going back rapidly to Rome: the Jesuits have obtained the upper hand, and have secured a footing not only in the Establishment, but in other Protestant communities; the work of the Reformation is to a great extent undone; the press has been handed over, body and soul, to Romish agents; and it is a mere question of time as to when the fires of Smithfield shall be rekindled, and the rack and similar tortures brought once more into use. On the other hand, it is demonstrated that the Roman Church is weaker in England than she was fifty years since; she fails to keep pace with the increase of the population; her influence, owing to a multitude of causes, is continually weakening; she is, at any rate, no power to be feared.

The former of these views is that in favour with the extreme Protestant party inside and outside the Establishment; it is encouraged by a large number of persons who are paid agents of the numerous Protestant societies having similar ends, or who find the funds necessary for carrying on these organizations, as well as by the enterprising publishers or compilers of Protestant literature. From time to time an opposite line is adopted, and this, indeed, is only prudent; for if the onward march of Popery is not even hindered, to what purpose are vast sums of money subscribed and expended every year? But,

<sup>1</sup> "Our Boys," in *THE MONTH* for May, 1899.

for the most part, it pays best to represent Romanism as coming in like a flood—even at the risk that some wicked Papist may retort by seeing in the Protestant Alliance and similar bodies so many Mrs. Partingtons, each brandishing a mop at the encroaching waves.

It is equally natural that the latter view should prevail among High Churchmen, who are regarded by their Protestant co-religionists as mainly responsible for the Catholic advance. It is essential to the Anglican movement that it should be dissociated from any sympathy with "Romanism;" and this can best be made manifest by minimizing its growth. "The chief progress," says a leading spokesman of this party, "seems to be in audacity of statement, self-advertisement, and self-assertion: the Roman chariots drive heavily, drag and lag terribly, and make little if any real progress."<sup>1</sup>

Oppositè as these two views are, they are not altogether irreconcilable. It is true that Catholicism is losing in England—and it should be said that it is with England only that we are concerned in this paper—and it is equally true that it is making way: and the question of progress can only be met by an investigation of the causes of loss and gain, and an estimate of their effects upon the community at large.

Let us take the losses first. These are mainly due to what is called "leakage"—a term which it is hardly necessary to explain—and affect mainly, but not only, what are called the lower strata of society. It is important to bear in mind that the information upon which Protestants base their conclusions on this subject is derived from figures supplied by Catholics. It is said, and with justice, that these figures, tending as they do to lessen the Catholic position, would not have been put forward by us unless they were accurate; but it should also be noted to our credit that we were not afraid to produce them, although we knew the use to which they would be put. It should also be admitted that if from time to time statements are made by Catholics which claim a certain amount of progress, we have been at no pains to conceal our deficiencies. Yet a favourite Protestant method is first to rebuke us for "great boasts about our numerical progress," and then to endeavour to show, from figures which we ourselves have supplied, that we are going backward instead of going forward.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. A. Brinckman in *Illustrated Church News*, Jan. 15, 1897. This paper was reprinted in pamphlet form, and has been widely distributed.

It would appear that the sole standard upon which the Protestant critic, be he High or Low, founds conclusions adverse to Catholic progress, is that of numbers; but surely that is only one of several bases from which the conclusion should be drawn? There is progress in influence, progress in wealth, progress in intellect, progress in virtue—are these to be ignored in favour of the one numerical test? It is this one point that the Rev. Arthur Brinckman is continually bringing forward in the two papers<sup>1</sup> which he favours with weekly contributions; it is that selected by Mr. Howard Evans for discussion in Mr. Price Hughes's paper, *The Methodist Times*; and I will therefore consider it first.

In the last-named paper for May 4, 1899, Mr. Evans has an article entitled, "Roman Catholic Figures," which seems worth reprinting:

Certain Roman Catholic writers and speakers have, of late, made great boasts about their numerical progress in England and Wales. It is not easy to bring these loose statements to the test, for the Roman Catholic Church has such a love of secrecy that the bulky "Catholic Directory" of nearly 600 pages contains hardly any information. It gives the number neither of baptisms, nor of confirmations, nor of communicants (which could hardly be expected), nor does it give a single statement concerning finance. What else could be expected of a Church which continually inculcates blind, unquestioning obedience? All that the reader is told in regard to statistics is as follows:—There are 1,509 churches, chapels, and stations, 2,769 priests, 17 bishops and archbishops in England and Wales, the estimated Catholic population being 1,500,000. Putting aside the estimate, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the figures. The question is what has been the growth during the half-century which is now closing. In 1851, there was a religious census of England and Wales. At that time there were 583 churches, chapels, and stations, and 826 priests. The growth is considerable, but it is not so great as it looks. To multiply celibate priests is a very cheap operation, and to multiply chapels is not so difficult if you only have at command a few of the wealthiest noblemen, like the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Bute. It is worthy of note that according to the "Catholic Directory" for the present year, of the 3,212 priests of Great Britain, 2,247 are of the Secular clergy (*i.e.*, they are parish priests), and 965 are of the Regular clergy (*i.e.*, they belong to monastic orders).

Let us come to the Roman Catholic population; that is the most important point. The Church of Rome has its lapsed masses, but it

<sup>1</sup> I note, since this was written, that Mr. Brinckman's weekly column of anti-Catholic tittle-tattle, entitled "The Doings of Rome," no longer appears in the *Church Review*.

reckons them all in. Many baptized Catholics seldom or never go to church, but they are reckoned to belong to the Church all the same. The Catholic Hierarchy estimate the Catholic population of England and Wales at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions, roughly speaking one in twenty of the whole population. Probably this is not far wrong. Does it show a formidable growth? Certainly not. The Irish-born population of England and Wales in 1851 was 519,959, the vast majority of whom were Catholics. These must already have had many children born in England. But not taking account of these, or putting them as a set off to Irish emigration from England, by the law of population the 519,959 must have now grown to 866,596, after making allowances for death. But the great majority of the Irish born in 1851 are now dead, and most of the 458,315 Irish born in the census of 1891 were newcomers, and many of these must have had children. When the Irish-born and their descendants are left out of account, the progress of the Roman Catholic Church in England must be relatively very small.

It will be time enough to believe in Roman Catholic progress in England and Wales when the number of Roman Catholic marriages rises above 4.5 per cent., a figure which has not been reached since 1882.

I print this article in full, lest I should be accused of misrepresenting the writer, and also because it states very fairly the argument from numbers. But it is impossible not to be amused at the skill with which Mr. Evans has discovered in the *Catholic Directory* the vices traditionally associated with Rome. Statements concerning finance, one would have supposed, would hardly have been expected in a directory, and it is difficult to see what "blind unquestioning obedience" has to do with their omission. The reference to the ease with which "celibate priests" and "chapels" can be multiplied seems to suggest that these are provided irrespective of congregations, merely in order that they may figure in statistics. A simpler way, and one quite in accordance with the Protestant estimate of Catholic conduct, would surely be to manipulate the figures, on the principle of the advice given to one who said he was going down a coal-mine to say he had been—"Couldn't you say that without going?" The division of the clergy into "parish priests" and members of "monastic orders" is ingenious. As to "reckoning in" the "lapsed masses," it is not so easy as Mr. Evans seems to think; and it must be remembered that this "reckoning in" is carried out far more thoroughly with regard to the Establishment, to which every one who is not definitely connected with any other religious body is legally accredited. I am quite unable to fathom the meaning

of or the inference drawn from the Irish statistics, or to understand why "the great majority of Irish born in 1851" should be assumed to be dead. But I wish to make it quite clear that we fully grant the existence of the "lapsed masses," and, as has already been said, it is mainly owing to our candour on the subject that Protestants have become acquainted with it.

The statistics which Mr. Evans briefly summarizes are given in fuller detail in the *Protestant Alliance Official Organ* for February, 1899. For many years the Alliance has issued a comparative table of this kind, based upon the statistics furnished by the *Catholic Directory*, and from this we are enabled to see the advance made year by year. This list for 1899, as printed by the Alliance, may be seen on the next page.

It may be well to contrast the relative aggregate numbers for 1897 and 1899:

		PRIESTS.		CHURCHES, &c.		RELIGIOUS Men.	HOUSES. Women.
1897	.....	3,115	.....	1,812	.....	253	... 524
1899	.....	3,235	.....	1,854	.....	260	... 547

The following paragraph, also from the Alliance summary, may be given:

In 1780, it is estimated that there were 190 Roman Catholic chapels, *public and private*, in England and Wales; in 1829, there were 397; in 1898, including stations, they have increased to 1,509. There are, in addition, 345 chapels of communities. In 1780, there were 359 priests of whom 110 were Jesuits; it is believed there were 477 in 1829, but from the official list, first published in 1839, it is known there were then 536. In 1898, the number, including 17 Bishops, is 2,786. The increase will be noted.

Mr. Evans says, "The growth is considerable, but it is not so great as it looks." I confess I am unable to understand how this can be. But if, as I suppose, he means to imply that it is not attended by a similar numerical increase in the Catholic population, the fact may be admitted, and, moreover, it throws light upon the leakage question.

It is certain that our losses by leakage have resulted, to a very large extent, from the insufficiency of clergy, churches, and schools. This loss has taken place on a large scale in our great towns, where the number of priests was for a long period totally inadequate to the work they were supposed to undertake; but I am inclined to doubt whether, in the aggregate, the losses in country districts have not been nearly as serious. In many country missions there is a tradition or a positive record that

## PROGRESS OF POPERY IN GREAT BRITAIN SINCE 1851.

Compiled from Roman Catholic sources.

PRETENDED DIOCESE.	Priests.		Churches, Chapels, and Stations.		Religious Houses of Men and Branch Houses.		Religious Houses of Women.		Colleges and Seminaries.	
	1851.	1899.	1851.	1899.	1851.	1899.	1851.	1899.	1851.	1899.
INCREASE SINCE 1851.										
ENGLAND AND WALES:										
Westminster .....	113	414	46	152	2	37	9	105	1	4
Birmingham .....	124	257	82	134	6	23	13	46	1	2
Clifton .....	49	102	53	19	2	18	5	26	2	2
Hexham .....	70	175	51	123	72	17	2	36	1	1
Liverpool .....	113	401	79	171	92	28	1	44	1	3
Leeds* .....	68	121	61	91	...	7	2	29	1	1
Middlesbrough* .....	27	76	26	63	1	6	1	16	1	1
Northampton .....	53	122	42	108	3	13	1	10	...	...
Plymouth .....	25	103	28	51	1	8	4	22	2	3
Salford .....	61	269	35	126	1	15	5	17	1	1
Southwark† .....	67	319	57	150	1	29	9	31	1	2
Portsmouth† .....	...	125	...	77	...	12	...	74	...	6
Newport§ .....	22	75	18	56	...	12	...	22	...	2
Shrewsbury§ .....	33	80	30	57	...	3	...	10	...	...
Menavia .....	...	58	...	37	...	11	...	13	...	1
Bishops .....	9	17*	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...
Total in England and Wales	835	2786	586	1509	17	246	53	506	10	30
SCOTLAND:										
Six Dioceses .....	118	443	97	345	...	14	...	51	1	4
Bishops .....	5	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total in Great Britain	958	3235†	683	1854††	17	260††	53	557	11	34
										23

\* Formerly the one diocese of Beverley. † Formerly the one diocese of Southwark. § The Welsh portion of the dioceses of Newport and Shrewsbury, with the exception of Glamorgan, was transferred to the Vicariate of Wales, which was formed into the diocese of Merioneth in 1898. \*\* There are also in England five other dioceses, viz. London, Winchester, Exeter, Bath, and Salisbury. These are in the hands of alien clergy. †† There are 14 Superiors or Provincials of Religious orders and congregations in Great Britain.



many who were baptized as Catholics at the beginning of the century fell away from the faith from the absence of facilities for practising their religion; and wherever a new mission is established, a small nucleus at once springs up of Catholics who, although they have retained the faith, have had but few opportunities of practising it. They would no doubt have entered themselves as Catholics in census returns: but their children were growing up out of touch with church and priest, and but for the establishment of a mission in the neighbourhood, would have been at best nominal Catholics.

The increase in what I may term our "plant," shows that we are making progress where progress is in the first instance to be desired—that is to say, among our own people; it is among them, too, that we shall find most results from the various branches of social work which are being set on foot on all sides. As yet our efforts in this direction, greatly as they have increased during the last twenty years, are far from adequate; but they are steadily growing: and where the spirit of zeal for work of this kind has been enkindled among the laity to whom it is peculiarly suited, most satisfactory results have been obtained. From the point of view of the statistician, the nominal Catholic counts exactly the same as one who practises his religion; but the transformation of the former into the latter is none the less a genuine progress, and the increase of clergy and churches is an indication that our needs are being realized and provided for. But even now the provision is sadly insufficient, and the deficiencies of past years can never be supplied.

But accepting to the full the various statements as to our losses from leakage, there are two points which seem to escape consideration. The first is that the loss to religion, due in great measure to the worldliness and indifferentism of the age and to the conditions under which the poor live, is at least as manifest in other religious communities as in our own; the second, that those who fall away from the Church do not unite themselves to any other religious organization.

The former point is abundantly proved by the utterances of earnest men of all creeds. Mr. Hugh Price Hughes has lately said that in the metropolis alone there are three million people as heathen as if they were in Central Africa; and the Rev. S. A. Selwyn, at the recent centenary of the Church Missionary Society, spoke of London as "the most heathen city in the world." In a memorandum lately issued by fifteen

incumbents representing more than ten thousand people, we read that "clergy who have laboured in the foreign mission-field have borne witness that the so-called 'heathen' of India have more religious feeling in them, and perform the religious duties of prayer and worship more generally, than the masses of South London. There is less habitual turning of manhood and womanhood towards religious subjects and religious duties among the two millions of souls in South London, than exists among similar masses of struggling poor in non-Christian lands;"<sup>1</sup> and the writer proceeds to show that "religion is a matter which affects all the details of the daily life of the heathen abroad," to an extent which it is far from doing in Christian England.

From the detailed report of one of these parishes I take the following passage :

There can be no question that in Southwark the Church has lost its hold upon the people, if, indeed, it ever had a hold at all. Thousands are living in practical heathenism, never entering a place of worship, never thinking of the necessity of training their children in the fear and love of God, never thinking of anything higher than the dull round of monotonous toil, varied by evenings spent at the public-house.<sup>2</sup>

It would, unfortunately, be easy to multiply testimony of this kind ; for example, the Rector of St. Luke's, Chelsea, who has occupied that position for many years, invited the Salvation Army to a special service in his church on June 18th, and in the course of his address said that the Church of England had "signally failed" to reach the masses, and that the Nonconformists had "utterly failed."<sup>3</sup>

These are Church of England views ; let us turn to the community to which Mr. Howard Evans presumably belongs. Last year Mr. Price Hughes published in *The Methodist Recorder* the results of a careful inquiry into the position of Wesleyan Methodism. These results are thus summed up in the *Sunday Magazine* for 1898 :<sup>4</sup>

During the twelve years 1886—1897, the losses were 443,000—reckoning only those who had removed, or had lapsed from membership, and excluding those who were lost by emigration or by death. That is, year by year one member out of every twelve drops out of Methodism ; or once in every twelve years, Methodism has to renew its whole force, to grow a new race. These figures, it must be understood, refer to members, not to adherents ; not to those who attend Wesleyan

<sup>1</sup> *Church Times*, May 26, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of St. George the Martyr, Southwark, for 1898.* By the Rector, the Rev. W. J. Sommerville.

<sup>3</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, June 19, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> P. 359.

services, but to those who by profession of faith have entered the Wesleyan Church.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Evans will do well to contrast this estimate with that which he gives of Catholicism. Even "when the Irish-born and their descendants are left out of account," though it is not easy to see why they should be omitted, he allows that Catholicism is making some progress, although it "must be relatively very small." Methodism, on the other hand, is declining at the rate of one in twelve annually; yet the writer I have just cited considers that Methodism "is stronger to-day than it has ever been," from which it is evident that numbers are not always regarded as affording a sure basis for estimating success or failure.

With regard to our losses, it must be borne in mind that our poorer people are exposed from their environment to peculiar temptations. The memorandum of the South London clergy, from which I have just quoted, lays stress upon the disastrous and natural results of overcrowding, of multiplied temptations to drink, and of moral dangers of all kinds. A large proportion of our poor are of Irish descent, and are fitted neither by heredity nor by tradition for the slum life of large towns, where public opinion, which in their own land was in favour of religion and its observances, sets in an adverse direction.

It must however be said that the very extent of our losses is an evidence of our gains. This sounds paradoxical, but it is true. For if, as has been said, we have lost in forty years by leakage a million souls, the wonder is, not that our numbers do not greatly increase, but that they do not seriously diminish. There must obviously be an influx as well as a decrease; and whence does this influx come, if not from the mass of the non-Catholic population?

This brings me to the second point. Protestant publications bear witness to the fact that there is a continuous stream of accessions to the Church from every class of society. But those who leave us, with but few exceptions, abandon all religious observances; they are a loss to Catholicism, but they are no gain to any kind of Protestantism. I remember how sadly

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that no inconsiderable number of those who leave Methodism become High Anglicans; some, at any rate, go further and join the Church. In the opinion of the *Independent*, as quoted in the *Church Review* of June 22nd, "the perversion of Nonconformists to the High Church is the logical development and expression of sacerdotal and ritualistic ideas existing more or less latent in the churches from which these people lapse." We learn on the same authority that, "Mr. Hugh Price Hughes causes his friends great anxiety by his increasing tendency to sacerdotalism"!

amused was a priest with whom I was once intimately associated, when he told me how those whom he reproved for absence from Mass were accustomed to reply: "Well, Father, I ain't been nowhere else:" and this is the case not only at home, but abroad. Your Italian or your Frenchman may abandon religion altogether; but the cases in which he will substitute any form of Protestantism for the Catholicism in which he was born, are comparatively few. The words of Dr. Johnson may be borne in mind in connection with this part of the subject under discussion:

A man who is converted from Protestantism to Popery may be sincere; he parts with nothing; he is only superadding to what he already had. But a convert from Popery to Protestantism gives up much of what he has held as sacred as anything that he retains; there is so much laceration of mind in such a conversion, that it can hardly be sincere and lasting.

On this Boswell comments: "The truth of this reflection may be confirmed by many and eminent instances, some of which will occur to most of my readers."

A further point which must not be lost sight of is the amount of money and enthusiasm which is expended by numerous Protestant societies in the effort to buy the perversion of our poorer folk from their religion: and also the indirect and even unintentional proselytism which is carried on by bodies which claim to be, and in a sense are, "undenominational." Some Protestant bodies, especially in Ireland, are established with the deliberate intention of acting as "missions to Roman Catholics;" they have money and influence at their back, and, so far as these are concerned, are far better equipped than any Catholic organization. It would be interesting to have a list of the progress made by any of these bodies, or a report which should deal, not in generalities nor in anonymities, but in definitely stated and ascertainable facts. For example, would it be possible to obtain statistics showing the result of the work of the "Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics" during the last twenty years? And will any one maintain that the growth of Protestantism among the Catholics of Ireland, fostered though it is by the wealth and organization of bodies expressly established for its promotion, is to be compared with the progress of Catholicism among the Protestants of England, unaided by money or by temporal advantage—nay, often bringing with it loss of money, loss of position, loss of friends?

JAMES BRITTEN.

(*To be continued.*)

## *Otherwhere.*

### CHAPTER XII.

SESSOS came down late. He found Eklis already seated at the breakfast-table in a comfortable room, hung with tapestry, seemingly quite modern.

"Wine or coffee?" inquired the philosopher. "The wine is from the Queen's own vineyards, and the coffee, you may like to know, has been grown on this side the barrier, though far south of Avenka. Have your note-book ready; you will, as a scientific explorer, find a host of facts to record. This fish is from the river on the upper part of which some of Avenka stands."

"I see it glinting through the branches of the trees in front of us," said the Prince.

"No, you are mistaken. What you see is a lake; the river flows out of it. I thought you seemed to admire the first specimen you saw of the architecture of this recluse people," Eklis said.

"Of its kind," replied Sessos, "it must be the most magnificent thing in the universe."

He was anxious to learn far more of the history of the great hall, but had avoided the subject during the short time he and Eklis were together on the previous evening, for on all occasions when Klemenké was not by to act as a check on his irony, Sessos preferred to let his friend lead the conversation.

"I do not know what the world contains—nobody does. If I had told you of the Hall of Avené—that is its name—a few weeks ago, you would have thought it all moonshine."

"I wish you would tell me about it now. You know how interested I am both in history and art," said the Prince.

"Oh, 'tis a long story. Ask the ladies. They are proud of their country, and by no means ignorant—that is, for women, you know; besides, they have the advantage of being natives. We

travellers never get right in names and dates. But if you have done breakfast we will take the wine with us and sit on the grass. It is close by here."

When Sessos entered the house on the previous evening it was far too dark, and he had too many things on his mind for him to make any observation as to what it was like. He now saw that it was a rather large building of one story only, seemingly constructed almost entirely of wood and plaster. The timbers were carved with running patterns, of varied but simple designs; around the eaves the rafters projected, and their ends were carved with grotesque animal heads. Altogether, the place was pretty and homelike, but in no way magnificent. It stood surrounded by trees. Some few were very old, but the greater part of them were young, they had not been planted more than fifteen or twenty years. So thickly had they been set, that the outer world was quite hidden from view, except the little patches of gleaming water which might be here and there distinguished.

Cigars were on the table. "We had better smoke and chat till we hear from the ladies. We shall be wanted soon, and it will not be courteous to give them the trouble of looking for us," Eklis said.

"It is a wonderful sensation to be received as a guest in a civilized country that no one has ever visited or even heard of before," said Sessos.

"You arrive at conclusions far too rapidly for a philosopher," Eklis replied. "What have you on which to ground your opinion—one pleasant-mannered young woman, this house, which may well be the work of comparative barbarians, and the Hall of Avené, certainly a fine thing in its way, but built some fifteen centuries ago, when these people must have been widely different from what they are now. It is quite as likely that they may have gone down the hill as upward. Your memory will supply you with many examples of deterioration—reversion to an ancestral type, as evolutionists call it. Kara was once a fairly decent place; what is it now? Though the people did not know so much of what we are pleased to call the arts of life, there was a time when they produced heroes."

Sessos knew that his companion was trying to involve him in discussion. He had not at any time much taste for wordy controversy, and the events of the previous day had strongly disinclined him from argument, so he made no reply, but lapsed into

reverie, from which he was soon aroused by the sound of horses coming along the pathway. Three ladies emerged from under the shadow of the trees. They were attended by several mounted servants. As they rode along, they were engaged in animated and cheerful conversation. One of them the Prince at once knew to be Klemenké's sister. The likeness was so striking that he would have been stupid indeed had he failed to observe it. The lady held out her hand, and said in a sweet, musical voice, "I am Klemenké's sister, Avené. Thank you, Prince, for saving her life at the great peril of your own, and thank you also for giving me the great pleasure of seeing you here. I trust you will stay a long time in Avenka, and that we may succeed in making the visit agreeable to you."

Avené seated herself, and at a sign from her, Eklis and her two companions did the same. They all lighted cigarettes, and Avené began conversing with Sessos as to her sister's accident, and the long stay she had been compelled to make in the outer world. His account of the wild men seemed to interest her very much. He was pleased to find that great as was the injury their chief had inflicted, her feelings towards them were kindly. Their devotion to the Duke evidently moved her. "They were mistaken," she said, "but acted from kindly motives. Can as much be said for the Princess Fyné, who slaughters those of our own faith, and would have been still more cruel to poor Lady Alé had you not delivered her? I have never seen the outer world," she continued, changing the subject, "I hope I may do so some time. The sun setting in the sea as you saw it last night, must be worth running some risk to behold. I have never been further west than the great doors you passed on your way here, and I should have been very angry with Klemenké for venturing had not my joy in recovering her banished all other feeling. She deserves a good scolding for her extreme rashness. You must help me to give her one some day."

Avené then put many questions to Sessos about Naverac, her brother and sister, and many other places and persons that he was surprised she had heard of.

"You are named after your great relative, I find, who tried to solve the mystery that has puzzled you Westerns so long. It is not surprising that you who are of his race should tread in his footsteps, but had it not been for that giddy sister of mine I do not think that you would have been successful," she said.

"I am by no means sure that I ought to have been so. With-



out permission from your Queen it is doubtful whether I should have intruded on the privacy of Avenka," said the Prince.

Avené laughed. "I think perhaps she may pardon you," she said, "when she calls to mind that you saved the life of one of her subjects, and have given her the pleasure of protecting Lady Alé."

"Is it certain she can protect my poor friend? From what Klemenké has told me, I do not question her willingness to do so," said Sessos.

Avené seemed surprised at the question. "Can the Queen of Avenka protect an injured woman who flies to her for succour? She would peril her throne if she did not. You cannot know at present what we of Avenka are like, so I pardon your foolish question. When you have made our acquaintance you will see that the Emperor of Kara and the cruel Princess Fyné have no more power here than the weakest of the tribes which own their sway."

Sessos was so charmed with his companion's conversation, that the other ladies and Eklis had left the table and strolled away among the trees, some time before he was aware that he was sitting alone by the side of Avené.

Her manner now altered from the bright, light-hearted talk which seemed natural to her. She at once assumed a tone and manner of deep seriousness. "Prince," she said, "I am informed that you love my sister, and furthermore I know that, with high-minded self-sacrifice, you have refrained from paying your addresses to her while she was severed from her own people. I need not say that I respect you for this. I have reasons for believing that by far the strongest motive for your visit to Avenka is that you may make a proposal of marriage to my sister."

The position was an embarrassing one. Sessos replied, curtly, "You are correct, madam."

"You cannot know our customs," Avené continued; "although we have a brother, I am the head of the family, and Klemenké, I am sure, will never violate the social laws of her country and our race, by marrying any one without my consent; for the present I neither give nor withhold it."

"I am bound to explain, madam," the Prince interposed, "that I have not any reason for thinking that Klemenké will return my affection. With your consent—for I would on no account violate a national custom, however I may regard it—I

will ask her, and should she refuse me, will leave Avenka as soon as I find means of doing so."

"The King of Naverac is reputed, rightly, I believe, to be the most powerful of Christian sovereigns of the West. Do you wish me to suppose that he would welcome an unknown maiden from a land he never heard of, in whose very existence it may at first be difficult to make him believe, as the wife of his brother—a Princess of Naverac—would your sister Dymna also treat her as a sister?" Avené asked.

"As I explained on being questioned by Eklis, who, I have reason to think is in your confidence, we of the house of Naverac have by no means always allied ourselves with royally born maidens. I feel sure, when they have become acquainted with her, that my brother and sister will welcome Klemenké as lovingly as you can desire," the Prince replied.

"I know your pedigree," she said, "in its many branches, as well, perhaps indeed in some minute points, better than you do yourself. Genealogy is a foible of mine. I was only studying it this morning, in the huge book issued by the authority of your father some five-and-twenty years ago. Eklis, too, confirms your statement as to what the views of your relatives are likely to be, but I am still in grave doubt. Both of you may easily be mistaken. The position is so very peculiar, and the possible war between the Kara people and the Duke complicates matters. It is impossible for your brother and sister to see us before the marriage, if it takes place. There may be, too, another grave objection. I could never consent that my dear sister should leave me and I never see her more. I am sure she, too, would never wish for this. She is a daughter of Avenka, and must not for ever forsake our common mother."

"If all other difficulties can be removed, this last will not stand in the way. It is now but a six days' sail from Naverac to the Duke's seaport. We and the Duke are, as you know, friends of long standing. While he holds his territory there will never be any difficulty in reaching the cavern. Even if he be so unfortunate as to be dispossessed of his dukedom, I can hardly think the Court of Kara would refuse the brother of a friendly Power a passage for himself and his wife across a strip of his country. I know the Princess Fyné very well, and I am sure she would use all her great influence on our behalf," the Prince said.

"That difficulty then may be considered as disposed of," replied Avené, "for I do not think it at all likely that the Duke

will seriously suffer. I cannot as yet bring myself to believe that the Court of Kara will be so unjust as to proceed to extremities. The opinion of the civilized world even there has some influence. Eklis assures me that he is quite certain Fyné would be averse from war, though she is determined to make Lady Alé a victim to their ambition. I am so grateful to you for saving her."

Avené's voice once more assumed the light-hearted tones which it had during the earlier part of the conversation. "We will say no more on the subject at present. I must have time for thought. You cannot see Klemenké to-day, or Alé. She and our brother have gone to see our aunt, who lives ten miles away, up in the hills. They will not be home again until very late. I will give you my reply during the day. One thing before I close the conversation I must mention; as to what my will may be I am still in doubt, but as to Klemenké's love for you there is no doubt at all. She told me of her regard for you, when I stated to her the very grave objections which it has been my duty to put before your Royal Highness. And now, if you please, we will have no further conversation on the matter until I introduce the subject. I think you will like to ride with me to see some of the neighbourhood. We shall reach my home in time for luncheon. I have asked Eklis and the ladies who came with me to accompany us."

The servants had brought horses for the Prince and Eklis. The path which Avené chose led in a southern direction, winding among the trees. It was an ascent, but a gradual one. Soon they reached a wide, tree-shadowed road; when they had proceeded along this in an easterly direction for some time, they came in front of a large and highly picturesque building. Evidently it was not a military work, but those who designed it may perhaps have conceived that at times some slight protection might be needed. The massive folding-doors and loopholed turrets seemed to lead to this conclusion, but on the other hand the rich and intricate carving which ornamented all the parts that Sessos could see, appeared to him to indicate that it had been built in times when wanton destruction was not dreaded.

"This is the old palace," Avené said. "It is sometimes used by the Queen even now, but it is more commonly devoted to guests who come with large retinues. It is much bigger than the part you see might lead you to think."

"I was not speculating as to its size, but amusing myself with

looking at the armorial shields. I am glad to find that the Queen of the Sciences, as our Naverac enthusiasts call it, has not been neglected in Avenka," said Sessos.

"No, indeed," replied the lady. "There is no country in the world where heraldic ornaments are so profusely employed or turned to such good genealogical account. All our people are of gentle blood, so all use arms, but our system is widely different from yours. You must ask Klemenké to explain it. She is learned in such things. From the roof of the castle you can see for miles around, but the trees hide everything from where we are. We shall soon be past them now."

In a few paces they were in the open country, and Sessos was even more astonished than he had been by the Hall of Avené. For some time he gazed on what he saw in silent wonder. Stretched at his feet there lay a city, seemingly a city of palaces, extending as far as the eye could reach in an eastern direction. In the distance was a range of mountains, clad with pine-forests, above which were the eternal snows. How lofty they were he had no means of judging, for their peaks were shrouded in clouds. At the foot of the mountains was a stretch of hummocky ground, moraines left by retreating glaciers, and below this a vast park extending as far as the eye could follow it. The city stood on the margin of a lake, on whose glassy waters sailed hundreds of pleasure skiffs, whose bright sails, of every colour, were reflected in the mirror-like water.

Avené did not speak. She wished her companion to drink in the beauty of what was before him ere she took on herself the office of interpreter.

"I am overcome by amazement," at length he said. "I never saw anything to equal this. Kara is not one half as beautiful."

"I have not seen Kara yet," Avené said. "Eklis tells me that some of the idol temples are nobler works of art than any of our churches."

"The whole is a scene of loveliness so utterly unexpected, that I cannot make comparisons. Kara is very beautiful, on the sea margin, where the palaces and great temples stand, but the parts where the poor live are far more squalid than anything to be seen in Naverac," said the Prince.

"You shall see our low quarter soon—not to-day. I should like you to compare it with what you have seen elsewhere. Eklis tells me that the hopeless misery in Kara is terrible, and that no one even tries to make things better," Avené replied.

As they rode along, she said, "You are so intent in your gaze on the north that you do not notice that we are in a pleasant park."

Sessos turned his eyes in the direction indicated, and saw that the hillside was laid out in gardens, bright with flowers, many of them of kinds he had never seen. Here and there in sheltered nooks were summer-houses and picturesque booths, where music was played. As it was morning, most of them were empty, but from several he could hear the sounds of harmony.

"This," she said, "is the pleasure ground of our people. The great park on the other side of the lake is wanted for military exercises. It must on no account be encumbered by any sort of buildings."

They rode along for a considerable distance, the view constantly changing and disclosing new beauties; at length they came to a very steep descent.

"We had better go down here," Avené said; "this road will take us down to the lake, whose margin I should like you to see. We can explore the city on a future day."

When they arrived at the bottom of the hill, Sessos found himself in a wide street. A canal ran down the middle, shaded by orange-trees. There were houses on each side, not large, but every one different from its neighbours, and all neat and comely, with little gardens in front; most of them were enshrouded in creepers. Sessos noticed that every house had over its portal a shield of arms.

"As I have before told you when we passed the old palace, we are all of gentle blood here. The artisans who live in these houses could no more forget their heraldic bearings than they could their names," Avené said.

Sessos found the lake much further off than he had supposed when looking down upon it from the higher ground. They rode slowly, for his companion was anxious that a permanent impression should be made. They touched the lake at the point where it ended and the river began. A large embankment held up its waters. There was a cascade in the middle, which discharged the overflow into the river. On each side was a row of bronze statues, sixty in all.

"These are the Christian Queens of Avenka. The two sets are complete. The present Queen will have to be content with hers on some other site. They are good works of art, but painfully alike. We will now skirt the water until we get to my home."

There was a very low wall cutting off the lake from the roadway. It was pierced at intervals by steps leading to piers for the convenience of the pleasure boats. All along were chairs, in which people, as it seemed, of all ranks, were sitting. Many of the women were engaged in knitting or embroidery.

"How restful all these people seem," said Sessos; "so different from the anxious and care-worn faces to which I am accustomed."

"I am so glad to hear you say so," replied Avené, evidently much pleased by the remark. "I fear we do not do all we should to make each other happy, but we are at least in part successful. Do you see those women in light grey skirts with scarlet bodices?"

"Yes, I took them for nuns of some Order with which I was unacquainted," he replied.

"They are not nuns," Avené said, "but I am not surprised at your mistake. They are women, many of them of high birth, all refined in their manners and tastes, who undertake to watch over the little children at their play. The poor cannot afford to hire nurse-maids for their little ones, and we think it very needful that the children of all ranks should mix freely together, so that there may be no class hatred or shyness in after-life; so these ladies undertake to superintend their play and keep order. The greatest misery that can befall a child is when the ladies of the red mantle, as they are called, refuse to speak to it. It is a kind of excommunication as much dreaded as you or I should fear the excommunication of the Church."

As they went on their way, a woman sitting by the water's edge caught sight of Avené. She was plain and hard-featured, perhaps sixty years of age. She at once laid down her knitting and, saluting Avené, entered into familiar conversation with her. From her dress Sessos had no doubt that she belonged to the lower rank of society. As they both spoke the national language, he could not understand what passed between them, but he saw the woman's face beam with delight, and could not help knowing that at times he was the object of her scrutiny. Before she returned to her seat she reverently kissed Avené's hand.

"That woman was one of Klemenké's attendants when she was a baby, and for some time after. She had been in great agony ever since her darling was lost. She had already been informed of her return, but knew none of the particulars until I told her just now. You will for the future rank next to her patron saints in her regard," said Avené.

They were now at what was called the water entrance of the palace. The building was so large that Sessos, who at present saw but one corner, could not make out its plan. Here they dismounted, and passing through a gate in a fence so low that it must have been meant rather as a suggestion than a guard, entered the private gardens. Close to the water's edge was a brightly-coloured tent, diapered with stars. As Avené passed, she looked in at the door. "I have asked two other guests to meet you; they have not arrived. Perhaps we are rather early," she said. "We will stroll by the waterside for a little while; they will soon be here, I am sure."

For some time they walked side by side without speaking. "I fear I have not been an entertaining companion," she said, at last. "Our conversation of the morning has haunted me. It is time, both for your sake and for mine, that this suspense should terminate. I need not repeat what I said before. I am sure Klemenké loves you. I have no doubt that you love her, therefore I am willing to consent to the marriage, to be celebrated at such time as I shall appoint. I see my friends have arrived. They are talking to Eklis."

"Chancellor," Avené said, addressing an old man decorated with several orders, who, with his wife, was the only addition to the party, "I have made arrangements with Sessos, Prince of Naverac, as to a contract of marriage between the Princess Klemenké and himself. You will cause the necessary official documents and the notices to my feudatories to be prepared without delay. And now, Prince, it is right that I should tell you, though my words to my Chancellor must have conveyed the information already. I am Avené, the nineteenth Queen of Avenka." As she spoke she laid her hand on his shoulder and kissed him on the right cheek.

"This gentleman, as you have gathered, is my Chancellor. He will explain to you the laws and customs of our state, many of which may at first seem strange to a foreigner; but to-day, when luncheon is over, we will go into the palace, some parts of which I should like to show you. I am very proud of it. The whole has been the free gift of a loving people to their Sovereign. Of the enormous sums it has cost during the last forty years, the whole has been a voluntary offering of our subjects, not a brick or a stone has been paid for out of the taxes."



## CHAPTER XIII.

SESSOS spent the afternoon in conversation with the Queen. She was highly gratified by showing to her future brother-in-law her magnificent home. The palace was a most impressive building, not only from its size, but because every part of it had been planned and executed by those who understood the art, well-nigh lost elsewhere, of manipulating architectural forms so as to produce beauty. It was a vast parallelogram, consisting of nine large courts, through each of which flowed a canal connected with the lake. These canals were fringed with brightly flowering shrubs, and where the walls were not ornamented by sculpture or encrusted with mosaics they were covered with climbing plants of every tint of foliage. The lowest story was in a great measure appropriated as offices, where was transacted much of the private business relating to the monarchy and the royal house. On the north, east, and west were the royal apartments. In the centre of the south was a stately entrance. It would be in vain were we to endeavour to describe the wealth of pictures which adorned the walls of almost every apartment.

"I must leave you now," the Queen said, at last, "you are, I am sure, tired of sight-seeing." As she spoke, she showed him into a cosy little room, the windows of which looked out upon the lake. "My Chancellor is here," she added, "who will tell you some things about Avenka which it is now proper for you to know."

We shall not convey the information the Chancellor gave in his own words, for the learned man was somewhat long-winded and discursive, but epitomize so much of his discourse as it is necessary for the reader to be acquainted with.

The earliest history of Avenka, like that of other lands, is enveloped in mystery and fable. It has always been the belief of the inhabitants that their own ancestors were the first to occupy the soil of Avenka. No relics of barbarous races have ever been discovered there. The most sceptical of archæologists have found themselves bound to admit that, though there are many traces of inhabitants dating from a very remote period, these traces all point to a civilized people.

The early religion of these people can hardly, without abuse

of words, be called a mythology. They worshipped one God, the maker and ruler of heaven and earth, to whom they believed themselves to be responsible for all the actions of their lives. They further held that God was served by an infinite number of angels, whose aid they were accustomed to invoke. The stars—not the planets—were regarded as the abodes of these heavenly guardians, or, as some historical students have held—Eklis among the number—they were only thought of as types or symbols of these ministering spirits.

The kingdom of Avenka is long and narrow. Its greatest width does not exceed a hundred and twenty miles, while its length is upwards of eleven hundred and forty. Its northern boundary is a chain of lofty mountains, towering high above the snow-line, near whose base flows in almost a direct course the River Avo, one of the many confluent of the La.

Klemenké, as it will be remembered, had mentioned Avené, the last non-Christian Queen. It was to her wisdom and courage that the kingdom of Avenka owed its true existence. Before her days it had been one of four or five separate communities occupying the river valley, not unfrequently at war with one another. She united them in a compact whole, which has never been broken. She also, time after time, repulsed the marauders from the neighbouring state of Renavra, a people of the same race, but in a much more backward condition. While this illustrious heroine lay dying, the first Christian missionaries were entering her territories. The people received the faith gladly. Her sister and successor, Klemenké I., a woman little if in any way inferior to herself, was one of the first of the people to receive Baptism.

The distinguishing feature of this powerful state was that, by an organic law, never once broken in the long years that had intervened from the days of which we have been speaking to the present, the monarchy was limited to women. There is a popular saying current throughout the land that a person will do this or that thing known to be impossible when a king reigns in Avenka. The Queens of Avenka never marry. In case one did so her position would be forfeited, and the throne pass to the next heir. On death they are succeeded by the unmarried woman the next in the succession who is willing to remain single.

The monarchy of Avenka is now no larger than it was in those early days of which we have spoken, but the long continued wars between the southern states have vastly increased its power.

For upwards of eight hundred years the Queens of Avenka have exercised imperial authority over the vast territories of the south, which lie between the mountain barrier and the River La. Most of these subject states, but by no means all of them, are Christian. This imperial power of the Queens of Avenka is valued very highly by the feudatories, as it gives them security from wars between each other. War, however, is unhappily by no means unknown, for beyond the La in the far east, there are populous but only half-civilised heathen states, which are constantly making incursions across the river, sometimes with most disastrous results. As a consequence, not only Avenka, but all the subject states which have a river frontage are compelled to keep on foot an efficient standing army.

Sessos dined alone with Eklis. On the following morning he breakfasted with the Queen. Klemenké, Prince Dranos, her brother, and Alé were alone present. The Prince he found a fine, soldier-like man of about his own age, with whom he felt that he should at once be on cordial terms. The breakfast was served in the little room wherein the Chancellor had given his historical lecture. They did not hurry over the meal, for there was much for each one of them to say. Alé seemed more tranquil since Sessos had seen her. She had become convinced, not only that she herself was safe under the Queen's protection, but that her brother's situation was at least hopeful. Neither did Sessos doubt this. Nevertheless, he asked, "If the Emperor of Kara were to determine on war, might not he do infinite harm to Avenka?"

"No," answered Dranos; "with common prudence on our part it is impossible. You do not imagine that his people could force their way through those galleries which you have recently traversed? There is but one other way, that is through the forest lands. There are from thence two narrow passes in the hills we see from these windows; both of these are guarded by forts always strongly garrisoned. These passes are so narrow as to be as much under our control as the way through the hill. There is, it is true, a much wider pass some thousand miles down the river, near the La. I do not think there is a soul in Kara knows of it, but if there be, long ere the Emperor's forces could make their way through a country of great natural difficulty, with a bitterly hostile population, my sister would have massed an army there amply sufficient for our protection. You must call

to mind that not only are we ourselves a powerful people, but we have eighty-two loyal states to fall back upon, every one of which is but too anxious to engage in war with Kara. The Queen's great difficulty will, I apprehend, be not to defend her own lands, but to resist the furious war clamour which will arise among her people."

"Nothing can be kept secret with us," added the Queen, with a smile of conscious power. "The citizens here know of the indignity offered to Alé as well as we do, and in a day or two the papers will have spread the news to the furthest limits of the Empire. In any case, the people would be justly angry, but they will be furious when they understand that the woman thus insulted is the one to whom Klemenké owes her life. Terms must be made, if indeed these infatuated Kara folk can be induced to hear reason. I shall send Eklis at once to the Imperial Court to learn the true state of affairs. We know that the Princess Fyné is as anxious for peace as I am, though of course she does not know the terrible sufferings the country she loves so well will have to endure if the war-demon breaks his chain." Then, turning to Klemenké, she said, "We must leave you and Sessos now. Alé, Dranos, and I have to give an interview to certain official people. We shall meet at luncheon."

Klemenké and Sessos were alone, and spent a most happy morning together. The situation might have been embarrassing to less pure and simple natures. Their conversation was not of battles, or even of protecting their friend Alé. Both had much to tell. It was nearly luncheon-time when a thought occurred to Klemenké, so she said, "I think when Avené showed you some part of the palace, she did not take you into the gallery where the portraits of our ancestors are hanging, like the dear, good sister she is; that pleasure has been reserved for me. There will not be time now to examine them in detail, but there is one I should very much like you to see."

She conducted them into a very long and richly decorated room, with an eastern aspect. "They are not all queens," as you see; the husbands and wives of the brothers and sisters of our house have each a place. Did you ever see anywhere else a portrait of that man over the ivory cabinet, whose left hand is resting on a globe?" she inquired, archly.

"I am so inured to surprises now, my darling, that I do not think anything can astonish me very much. It is Sessos the navigator, my great-great-uncle," he said.

"And my great-great-grandfather, cousin Sessos," she replied. "I must explain something now, and tell you more at another time. Sessos the navigator did sail up the La, and after a long and weary journey arrived at the point where the Avo pours its waters into the great river. Just at that time a great naval battle was going on between the war-ships of Avenka and those of the semi-barbarians from the other side. One of our ships was commanded by Afne, the then Queen's sister. Her people were about being overwhelmed by numbers, and she and all her crew would have been slaughtered, when Sessos came to her relief, and turned the fate of war in favour of the Christians. Her ship was in a sinking condition, so she and her people were taken on board his vessels. The defeat of the heathen was complete, but the Admiral dare not leave his post of guarding the mouth of the Avo. He thanked Sessos for the help he had rendered, and, furnishing him with despatches to the Queen, requested him to convey the Princess Afne to Avenka. As there was no steam in those days, the sail of more than eleven hundred miles up stream took a long time, but I do not think that either Sessos or Afne found it in the least bit tedious. Long before they arrived at Avenka they were in love with each other. The reigning Queen, Avené XVII., was as reasonable a woman as her namesake, so Sessos and Afne were soon married, and he has been the ancestor of succeeding Queens."

"And you have known all along how anxious I was to make out what had been the fate of our national hero, and yet never told me, you cruel creature; you are as teasing as Eklis," said Sessos, laughing.

"No, why should I?" she answered. "That, like so much else, was far better kept in reserve until you arrived here. Do you see any likeness between your sister Dymna and ourselves?"

"Yes, a very strong one; but it is absurd to seem wise now all is made clear to me. Your own face and that of the Queen also, have haunted me like a half-effaced memory, but I never until now connected them with Dymna. I thought it was something which I had seen in my dreams," he said.

When they assembled at luncheon Eklis was of the party.

"We have had a long conference with some skilled military men. My commander-in-chief is superintending the fortifications on the La. I have telegraphed for him to come back at once, and also for the King of Renavra. As I have determined, in case Alé's brother is attacked, that Avenka will help him, it is

quite necessary that I should see the Duke. How do you propose that this should be accomplished?" the Queen said, addressing her sister.

"We left word that the Duke was to post a guard at the cave, so there is no danger from the wild men now," Klemenké said. "Let Sessos send Renos to-day to fetch our baggage, bearing a letter, saying my sister and I will visit the castle to-morrow. If they be at home, we shall receive a letter giving us a cordial welcome. Renos is to be trusted. He must be told not to say who we are. They will feel it quite natural that Avené should wish to thank them for their great kindness to me," Klemenké replied.

The plan was agreed to. Renos departed without delay, and ere evening Eklis was once more on his way to Kara.

In due time Renos returned with a warm invitation from the Duke and Duchess. They had both become much attached to Klemenké. The Duke had, of course, no hope of help from so unlikely a quarter as Avenka, a place which his imagination still pictured as a little green nook among snow-fields, but he was anxious to see Klemenké and her sister, in the hope of gathering some information regarding a place in the very existence of which he had disbelieved so short a time ago.

They breakfasted early the next morning. The Queen took two of her maids-of-honour with her, not by any means for state purposes, but for the sake of giving her friends a delight they could never have hoped for. It was a pleasure trip, as well as a journey of business. Ere they departed, Alé was despatched to pay a visit to Parena, the home on the hill slope, where dwelt Avené's aunt, the Queen Dowager of Renavra. It had been previously arranged that she should stay there until further notice, so that the Duke might, without any equivocation, be able to say that he had no idea where she was, and was therefore utterly unable to recover her.

We need not describe the passage through the cave. All, of course, had horses, but after the river was crossed, the roof was in some places so low that it was necessary to dismount. A body of guards accompanied them.

Almost as soon as they arrived at the castle, Avené said, "I have sought an invitation, your Grace, for more than one reason. That most prominent in my own mind is the desire of thanking the Duchess and yourself for your great kindness to my sister. I have also another motive. I am anxious to know the state of

affairs between yourself and Kara. It may simplify matters if I tell you that I am Avené XIX., Queen of Avenka."

The Duchess was almost overwhelmed by astonishment. This was not the case with the Duke. In early days he had been averse from entertaining the idea that Klemenké was anything more noteworthy than a wandering stranger, who had taken shelter in the cavern; when disabused of this notion, Klemenké's manner and bearing impressed him with the belief that she was, in her own country, a woman of exalted dignity. He was an acute observer, and had not failed to notice how very different was the manner of Eklis when she was present.

They discussed the situation for a long time, the Duke becoming every moment more and more surprised at the military knowledge shown by the sisters.

"It is quite necessary," Avené said, "that your Grace should have an interview with my commander-in-chief. I have telegraphed for him and my cousin the King of Renavra; both will be with me on Thursday. I wish you would meet them, and, of course, bring the Duchess with you. Klemenké and these ladies will show her some part of Avenka, while we are discussing war possibilities. You will naturally have more trust in two men than in any number of women, trained soldiers though we be."

Thus it was arranged, and then they strolled into the gardens. There Klemenké found the Duke's little boy. He was delighted to see again his aunt, as he called her, though rather disappointed that Alé had not also come back.

"I have not forgotten you," she said. "I asked my sister the Queen—the lady who is talking now to the Duchess—for some of those pretty pigeons. We have brought them with us. We will go to see where they are."

The hamper containing the doves was soon found, and the little fellow was in extreme delight. For some time he could talk of nothing else. At last he said, thoughtfully, "Did you call your sister a Queen?"

"Yes," replied Klemenké; "the Queen of Avenka, my home."

"But not a real Queen, only a play Queen, just as I am an Emperor or a sailor sometimes?" he said.

"Yes, a real Queen, who wears a real crown now and then, and has thousands of soldiers to fight for her," Klemenké said, laughing.

"Then why are you only Klemenké? The sisters of kings



and queens are princesses, just as Aunt Alé, because she is sister of a Duke, is the Lady Alé," he said, in a confused manner.

"I am a Princess, and people call me 'Your Royal Highness,' though you must call me Aunt Klemenké still. When Sessos brought me here I did not wish any one to know about Avenka, so I said nothing about it," she replied.

"Oh, what a shame, auntie! when all the time you have been as great as the Princess Fyné, and we knew nothing at all about it," the boy said, half reproachfully.

"Not so cruel, I hope," Klemenké added; "but you must now come with me to look at our pretty horses—my two black ones, Night and Thunder, are both here."

While this conversation was going on the Queen took advantage of her sister's absence to inform the Duke and Duchess of her engagement to Sessos. "I am in a difficulty," she said; "I do not apprehend that when the King of Naverac knows all the circumstances, his brother's marriage with my sister will be distasteful to him, but how is he to be made to comprehend? To him everything will seem as complex and unintelligible as what we see in dreams, and the marriage must take place almost at once, for with war hanging over us, if they are not married ere hostilities begin, the wedding may have to be put off indefinitely. I have no ambassadors and cannot spare Eklis to act as one, for he is the only person either the Duke or I can trust to communicate for us with the Emperor, or rather with the Princess Fyné."

The Duke made no reply for a long time. At last he said, "A plan has occurred to me which, should it meet with your Majesty's approval, may in a great degree remove these difficulties. Before your letters came, I and the Duchess had arranged that she and our little boy should sail at once for Naverac, to pay a long visit to the Princess Dymna, so that whatever may happen to me, they at least will be out of danger. She will gladly be the bearer of any messages which your Majesty and Prince Sessos entrust to her—will, indeed, formally accept the office of ambassadress from the Court of Avenka to that of Naverac, if you think it right to clothe her with that high dignity."

"We will talk of this along with other matters when we meet on Thursday," said Avené. "Now, if it be convenient, my ladies and I should like so very much to ride down to the shore. You must find it difficult to realize the condition of barbarians such as we are, who have never seen the sea."

## Reviews.

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### I.—THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL.<sup>1</sup>

M. THUREAU-DANGIN is one of those French Catholics who take great interest in the Catholic Revival in England, and particularly, as bearing on it, in the Catholicising movement in the Anglican communion. The sympathy aroused in his own country by the course of events consequent on the combined actions of Lord Halifax and M. Portal, led him to make a special study of the subject, for the purpose of which he not only examined its literature, but paid more than one visit to England, and had opportunities of gathering facts and impressions from trustworthy informants. Thus prepared, he determined to write a history of our Catholic Renaissance, feeling sure that it would be welcomed by French Catholics, who so far have known only of isolated and intermittent episodes, and have had no consecutive account of the origin and developments of the movement. It was a happy thought, and although M. Thureau-Dangin does not say so explicitly, we may, without fear of error, trace in it some connection with the Archconfraternity for the Conversion of England, from which the Holy Father has hoped so much, and which forms such an encouraging bond between ourselves and our continental brethren. Just such a book as this was needed to stimulate their prayers for the realization of our aspirations.

The present volume is the first of two which are to complete the projected history. Its special title is, *Newman and the Oxford Movement*, for the author regards this movement—and with approximate truth—as the main source of the renaissance now working in our midst. The period following on Newman's conversion is to be the matter of the volume yet to appear, but the author's views of our present situation are indicated in

<sup>1</sup> *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre du XIX Siècle. Première partie. Newman et le Mouvement d'Oxford.* Par M. Thureau-Dangin, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Librairie Plon.

outline in an Introduction of fifty-eight pages to the volume now in hand.

M. Thureau-Dangin apologizes for two deficiencies, as partially disqualifying him for his task, the fact of not being English and of not being a theologian. But it is due to him to testify that, notwithstanding these drawbacks, he has been wonderfully correct in his appreciations. In two points in the Preface his diagnosis is a little astray. One regards the attitude of English Catholics towards the Ritualists. We are in full agreement with him that it is a sad pity to overlook the manifest signs of Divine grace guiding this Catholicizing movement, and to regard it chiefly as an antagonistic force. But it is a misapprehension to suppose, as is done in the footnote to page liv., that English Catholics have only recently come over to this view. There have been the two tendencies among us all along, and probably always will be, one based on personal knowledge of Anglican friends, the other nourished by the bitter invectives of papers like the *Church Times*.

Another inaccuracy in the Introduction, if such it is, is not unnatural. We believe, however, that the recent uprising against Ritualism does not come from the Low Church party in the Anglican communion, but from the Nonconformists. The Low Churchmen have taken little or no part in it, and seem to have agreed to treat their High Church brethren on terms of "live and let live," but the Nonconformists have fancied they could utilize the Kensit agitations for the furtherance of Disestablishment. In short, the uprising is, from a religious aspect, artificial and will not last: its real force is political. There are also some remarks, not in the Introduction, but in the last page of the volume, which make us fear lest in the coming volume some difficult and delicate questions should be treated with a want of sufficient breadth.

These, however, are lesser matters, and apart from them M. Thureau-Dangin is wonderfully true in his insight into the complexities of Anglican thought. And as regards style, he writes with a consummate literary skill which allows the touching and thrilling story to lose nothing of its pathos. It is, too, a work to find its place on English as well as French bookshelves, for we have nothing quite like it. We have various monographs from which he has made some choice gleamings. We have the *Apologia*, which is priceless, but in which we have Newman as he saw himself, not as he was seen by others; and we have

Dean Church's *Oxford Movement*, which is most valuable, but is from the standpoint of one who remained an Anglican. We have also Mr. Wilfrid Ward's *Life of his father*, which most resembles, as it has perhaps most helped M. Thureau-Dangin's. But it is no disparagement to Mr. Ward's book to say that its *ἦθος* is not quite the same as M. Thureau-Dangin's. The *ἦθος* of this latter is akin to that of the *Apologia*, with the result that it seems to complete it, the one giving the inside, the other the outside view of the great leader round whose personality all else centred.

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## 2.—CHINA.<sup>1</sup>

We are all interested in China just now, in the future of that marvellous country, and in our prospects of retaining our hold on its enormous market. Readable and trustworthy books on the subject are consequently in demand, and with such a book Mr. Harold Gorst—a son, we believe, of Sir John Gorst—has provided us. In his pages we may learn from one who has taken pains to be full and accurate, and who can convey his information in clear and graphic language, what are the full resources of the country, the character and habits of the people, and the salient features of the present situation.

That China is a country rich in minerals, and in the fertility of its soil, is understood by most of us, but the impression becomes more vivid when we learn that, out of the four or five provinces rich in coal measures, in the province of Shansi alone the wealth of coal is so enormous, that, according to Richthofer, it "could supply the whole world for thousands of years at the present rate of consumption;" or that in the rich province of Szechuan, watered by the Upper Yang-tse, one vast district is of such extraordinary fertility that "it would take ten years for the inhabitants to consume the produce of one," and this although in that district there is resident the great mass of the population of the province, a population which even the lowest estimate sets down as "between forty-five and fifty-five millions." Nor are these two facts isolated. With rare exceptions, Mr. Gorst has the same tale of natural riches to tell of the other provinces of the Empire.

And the people are not unworthy of their fine inheritance.

<sup>1</sup> *China*. By Harold E. Gorst. Sands and Co., 1899.

It is the fashion among Europeans to despise them, and, if we were to judge them by their governing classes, the fashion might not be so far astray. There are evidences to show that in former periods the country was wisely administered, but the corruption and absurdity of the present administration is appalling, and it is the source of all their political weakness and recent disasters. Still, Mr. Gorst's account of the great mass of the people is most favourable to them. Their industry is remarkable, and it is accompanied by "the most astonishing cheerfulness," a cheerfulness which can only be ascribed to the inherent energy of the Chinese race, and to the respect for labour which is inculcated on the individual from infancy. There is capability, too, about their work, and has been for many hundreds of years, so that it must be in their blood. In shipbuilding it was they who first hit on the idea of watertight compartments, and invented the compass, and their "river navigation is superior to that of any other nation, the junks being handled with consummate ingenuity." Without the aid of our Western science "they have achieved wonderful results in the invention of clever though simple contrivances." Thus, in Szechuan, they have learnt to utilize volcanoes for furnaces with perfect security, and their miners use a torch of sawdust and resin, which has all the properties of a safety-lamp. They work metal and cast bells with a precision and finish rivalling that of our most skilful artisans. They have most ingenious methods of irrigation, even for raising the water to a higher level. They have a wonderful talent for farming, and the extraordinary fertility of the soil is, in Mr. Gorst's opinion, largely due to their acting always on the principle that nothing should be allowed to waste, but whatever has been taken from the soil should be returned to it.

Mr. Gorst further testifies to the general happiness of their domestic relations, to their obedience, tractableness, and to their commercial integrity. We are familiar with stories to the contrary, especially as regards the last-mentioned point, but these he sets down to the rash generalization of imperfectly-informed witnesses. He quotes Professor R. K. Douglas for the remark made by a Shanghai bank-manager: "I know of no people in the world I would sooner trust than the Chinese merchant and banker." Then, too, they have useful loan societies after a system of their own, whereby persons starting in life or in difficulties can be materially aided without falling into the hands of the professional usurer; and, which is more far-

reaching still, they have wealthy and powerful merchant guilds, not unlike the mediæval guilds, which sometimes tyrannize, but on the whole work for the protection and organization of trade.

We are wont to credit the Chinese with a stupid resistance to the gifts of Western civilization, which we wish to force on them, as much for their own good as for ours. But, apart from the mandarins and the *literati*, for whom he has no good word, Mr. Gorst takes note that the people base their opposition on not unreasonable grounds. They say "we do not need your railways and your merchandise. Unlike you, we are a quiet people, content with the necessities of life and a few simple enjoyments, and these, our soil being so productive, we can obtain without difficulty in our respective districts." And they bring against the factory system, and the introduction of machinery, the same objections which are so often heard at home. Moreover, side by side with this hostility to Western methods of manufacture, there has been a progressive movement in favour of adopting them, and it has brought into prominence the singular versatility of the Chinese, which enables them so readily to acquire proficiency in the most delicate and complicated kinds of machine work. This is a point which profoundly impressed the Blackburn Commercial Mission sent over in 1896 to inspect and report. What it seems to forebode is that the Chinese operative may be destined to have the first place among the producers of the future.

And here a question comes into view which Mr. Gorst thinks is not sufficiently considered. The European Powers are busily engaged in partitioning out China into spheres of influence, in the anticipation that by so doing they may secure the advantages of its coming industrial development for themselves. But are they not meanwhile leaving out of account the views of the Chinese themselves? Thanks to the shocking way in which they have been misgoverned, they may be destitute of military strength, and the Western Powers may have Maxim guns and Lyddite shells to oppose to their bows and arrows and paper cannon. But our guns and shells will not sweep off the face of the earth four hundred millions of the most plodding and industrious workers in the world. It is with them we must finally deal, and the question is whether they will not succeed in turning the tables on us. We may hope to extend the market for our own manufactured goods by making the Chinese buy them. But what if the Chinese, proving themselves to be

better workmen than ourselves, able to live more cheaply, and possessing vast stores of coal and iron close at hand, should, before so very long, be able, not only to provide themselves with all that even according to our standards they can possibly require, but also to undersell us in our own home markets?

There are other topics discussed in this instructive volume on which we should have liked to say a word, particularly the religious question, over which Mr. Gorst is by no means as sympathetic as we could wish. But enough has been said to indicate the nature of a work for which we venture to predict a warm welcome.

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### 3.—THE RELIGION OF SHAKESPEARE.<sup>1</sup>

As to the interest of Father Sebastian Bowden's book (or, rather Mr. R. Simpson's book, edited and amplified by Father Bowden) on the Religion of Shakespeare—there can be no two opinions. The topic is one that appeals to all Catholics of literary tastes. The style is pleasant, showing no signs of the dual authorship, and abounding in illustrative quotations which one is glad to have an excuse for recalling to memory. The conclusions arrived at will not be judged, even by those who dissent from them, to be extravagant or aggressive. So far as regards the line of argument, it is very well summed up by Father Bowden in the Preface, where he says :

The evidence adduced from Shakespeare's writings in the following pages brings out, we think, two points clearly. First, that Shakespeare was not on the winning side in his day in politics or religion ; that he carefully avoided all those appeals to popular prejudice about monks and nuns, Popes and Cardinals, which form the farcical element of many plays of his time ; nay, more than that, in adapting old plays, he carefully expunged every satire of the ancient faith. Secondly, that he not only habitually extols the old order of things, but that he studiously depreciates the new. He surveyed his own times with an anguish, he says, that made him "cry for death."

Many years ago we remember reading in *The Rambler*, Mr. Simpson's articles on Shakespeare, which are the foundation of the present volume. At the time we read them, they persuaded us that Shakespeare must have been a Catholic, but

<sup>1</sup> *The Religion of Shakespeare*, chiefly from the Writings of the late Mr. Richard Simpson, M.A. By Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London : Burns and Oates, 1899.



since then a fuller acquaintance with the conditions of Elizabethan life and thought, has led us reluctantly to change our opinion. Father Bowden has not reconverted us. It seems to us that he does not make sufficient allowance for the prevalence of religious doubt in the England of those days—of an attitude of mind akin to what we now call agnosticism. That Shakespeare's father was a Catholic is likely enough. That the poet's tastes and sympathies were all on the side of the old traditions is very satisfactorily proved in the book before us. That he revolted from the narrowness and vulgarity of Elizabethan Protestantism, a vulgarity which goes with nearly all things that are brand-new, is only what we should expect of his æsthetic and refined nature. But that he believed—that is another question. The fundamental difference between our point of view and that of the authors of this volume is, we take it, that Father Bowden thinks that most men in Elizabeth's day, either as Catholics or as Protestants, believed in Christianity, and professed one religion or the other. This we cannot accept without better evidence than we have yet met with. On the contrary, the statements of contemporaries like Nash, as to the prevalence of what they roundly call "atheism," are very strong and very definite. Father Parsons again, a religious teacher who was keenly interested in the decay of Catholic faith among his countrymen, is equally emphatic, and in writing the third edition of his *Christian Directory*, he sets himself to prove at great length the fundamental truths of Christianity, before he ventures to invite his readers to consider the malice of sin, or the punishments of the wicked. And these thoughts we know were in Shakespeare's mind. Hamlet and Macbeth would prove it, but most of all Prospero, the magician who conjured up airy fancies, even as the bard himself gave being to his conceptions for the delight of all posterity. But Prospero, kindly, wise, and reverent though he be, had no more hopeful doctrine to proclaim than—

We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep.

We wish we could see with other eyes, and we should have been grateful to Father Bowden if he had convinced us that Shakespeare was a loyal son of the Church, but more evidence is wanted, we think, than that of the poet's acquaintance with Catholic practice and sympathy with pre-Reformation dogmas.

None the less, we thank Father Bowden very gratefully for a pleasant and interesting volume, which may bring conviction to others more discerning perhaps than ourselves.

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#### 4.—HISTORY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL.<sup>1</sup>

This Life should be welcome to the members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and to the pious ladies, religious and secular, who are following in the Saint's footsteps and carrying on his holy work among the poor. The fact of the work being written by a Bishop, and prefaced with an Introduction from the pen of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, is recommendation enough. The translation reads easily. Possibly the work would have gained by some little retrenchment of phraseology, which, admirable in French, reads less well in our language. Chapters of special interest are those on St. Vincent's formation of Seminaries for the training of priests, on his resistance to Jansenism, his attendance at the death-bed of Louis XIII., and his service on the Council of Conscience under the regency of Anne of Austria.

There are some expressions which might have been better for a little explanation, about the "care to be taken in giving the students [the seminarists] that 'respectable mediocrity,' which is necessary for each, and sufficient for all." In the Seminaries of the Society of Jesus the Professors have to certify that their students have "passed mediocrity." All cannot do so; but in these days we think that every effort should be made to tide every candidate for the priesthood as high above the level of respectable mediocrity as possible. Holiness above all things for every minister of the sanctuary in every age: but, that being presupposed, one would desire to see every Bishop in the country with a certain number of young clergy at his disposal, who should have surmounted mediocrity and attained high excellence in scholarship, in science, and all ecclesiastical lore. It is the great need of our time, and St. Vincent would have been the first to recognize it.

St. Vincent in the Council of Conscience, as adviser of the Queen Regent on the nomination of Bishops, is a monumental

<sup>1</sup> *History of St. Vincent de Paul.* By Mgr. Bougaud. Translated by the Rev. Joseph Brady, C.M. With an Introduction by Cardinal Vaughan. Longmans. 2 vols. 338 pp. 276 pp.

figure for the historian of the Church of France. Here is one of the modest requests that poured in upon him :

A religious highly esteemed in his order for his regularity, and outside of it for his eloquence, wrote to him one day to tell him that owing to his long labours and the austerity of his rule, he found his strength failing, and he feared he should not be able to serve God and the Church much longer. "But," he added, "if the Crown would make me suffragan to the Archbishop of Rheims, I should, as bishop, be dispensed from fasts and other religious austerities, and might yet preach for many a day with power and good results."

The Saint's reply is delicious.

I do not doubt that your Reverence would do wonders in the episcopate if you were called to it by God ; but He has given you such great success in all your works in the place where you are, that there is no reason to suppose that it is His will to remove you. For, if His Providence called you to the episcopate, it is not to yourself that He would apply to place you there. . . . And besides, Father, what a wrong you would do to your order by depriving it of one of its principal supports, which sustains and adorns it by doctrine and example.

The parents of a young Abbé, who was leading a scandalous life in Paris, procured the Regent's nomination of him to the see of Poitiers. Anne of Austria, in cancelling the nomination at Monsieur Vincent's earnest instance, bargained that he should charge himself with the ungracious task of breaking the news to the mother.

The Duchess rose, and not content with words, she took up a footstool and flung it at the Saint. It struck him on the forehead, making a wound from which blood flowed freely. Without a word he wiped it with his handkerchief, and left the room. The (lay) brother whom he had left in the antechamber heard the noise, and at the sight of St. Vincent guessed what had happened. Indignant that his Father, a priest, and the King's minister, should be treated thus, he would have sprung towards the door of the room, but the Saint stopped him. "You have nothing to do there, brother ; this is our way, let us go." "Is it not a wonderful thing," he added, as they went out, "to see how far a mother's love for her son will carry her."

We do not wonder that Monsieur Vincent was canonized.

5.—ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA.<sup>1</sup>

M. Joly has himself written the Life of St. Ignatius in his series of Lives of the Saints. He writes with sympathy, and has evidently taken great pains to think out the psychology of that wonderful personality. He has set himself also to defend the Saint and his work from the misconstructions which have befallen them. The effect has been to convert the book into an essay rather than a biography. The dissecting knife can reveal to us much of the mechanism of life, but the life itself disappears before the process. Even so, a process so analytic as M. Joly's may raise and determine interesting questions regarding the motives and methods of St. Ignatius, but it is at the cost of the Life itself. We do not get the same vivid picture as from the pages of Bartoli or Genelli, or feel that the Saint is brought so near to us. Still, whilst we have other biographies to set before us the man himself, all warm and breathing, it is an advantage to have also M. Joly's acute dissection.

He does not always, it must be confessed, "arrive," as his countrymen would say, in his analysis. Take, for instance, the account of the Spiritual Exercises in chapter ii. He is right in his conviction, that "among those fundamental principles (which the Exercises strive to inculcate) that one which is likely to have first attracted the mind of St. Ignatius, is that Jesus Christ is a King, a Leader of an army, or, as the first Spanish text had it, a 'Captain-general.'" The logical mind of St. Ignatius doubtless worked back very quickly to the most fundamental principle of all, that "man was created by God to praise Him, reverence Him, and serve Him;" still it was the thought of Christ as his Leader which probably most dominated him when he hung up his sword at Montserrat. M. Joly is right also in tracing the influence of chivalry in the mode in which the Kingdom of Christ is presented. But it is the idea not the scaffolding on which the Exercises lay stress, and this idea M. Joly does not catch fair and straight. The idea is that, if there is in man an impulse of personal loyalty which urges him to such generous and self-disregarding sacrifices for an earthly king or leader, that same impulse should recognize a far more worthy object of loyal devotedness in our Lord

<sup>1</sup> *The Saints: St. Ignatius of Loyola.* By Henri Joly. Translated by Mildred Partridge, with a Preface by George Tyrrell, S.J. London: Duckworth and Co., 1899.

Jesus Christ. There are other points similarly deficient in this account of the Exercises. In fact, that account is throughout rather poor, and M. Joly feels evidently more at home in tracing the influences under which they grew up in the Saint's mind. Still, though it is possible to criticize a point or two, we cordially thank M. Joly for his study of St. Ignatius. It may prove a valuable means of spreading truer notions of the character and aims of a Saint who has been so much misunderstood.

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#### 6.—THOUGHTS FOR ALL TIMES.<sup>1</sup>

Mgr. John Vaughan's *Thoughts for all Times* has passed into a third edition, a sign that it has taken on. Nor is this surprising, for the book has merits, and is capable of doing solid good. The Bishop of Newport in his Preface describes it as a book of essays on religious subjects, distinguishing such essays from sermons by the absence in the former of the official character in the speaker. This is certainly one feature in these Thoughts. The author meets his reader on equal grounds to talk over with him in plain, homely fashion, just as he might talk over some temporal matter, the great fundamental truths in which a man ought to be interested. Some of the Thoughts are on points of practice, but mostly Mgr. Vaughan takes up some truth or doctrine which requires explanation, and endeavours to explain it; and of these some are subjects which have given rise to modern questionings, and some are points of theology so abstract that most preachers, not to say essayists, would be tempted to pass them over as above all but a specially qualified class of readers. However, it is Mgr. Vaughan's praise that by well-chosen words and sentences, and by the fresh and apt comparisons of which he seems to possess a never failing store, he generally contrives to make even these abstruse topics interesting and almost popular. We may instance the Thoughts on the Simplicity of God. There the subject is abstract enough in itself, and he does not shrink from some of its most abstract conceptions. But as one follows him one feels that quite ordinary readers might be able to take in his points and the force of his explanations.

<sup>1</sup> *Thoughts for all Times.* By the Right Rev. John Vaughan. With a Preface by the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. Third Edition. R. and T. Washbourne, 1899.

One criticism. He has two essays on Purgatory, the second of which—on “Languishing for Love”—we particularly like, but the first—on the “Reasonableness of Purgatory”—offers an explanation, which, though often heard, does not, we submit, bear analysis. The stains for the cleansing of which Purgatory has been ordained, on the principle that nothing defiled can enter Heaven, cannot be the stains of guilt, but only of the undischarged debt of temporal punishment. For the guilt of every mortal sin is necessarily cleansed either before death, or never; and there is every reason to believe that the guilt of venial sins, when not cleansed before death, is cleansed by the deep penitence to which the soul is moved by the searching light of the Particular Judgment.

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### *Literary Record.*

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#### I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

THE Bishop of Clifton preached last winter some Advent sermons on Sacerdotalism, which now appear as a penny tract. (C. T. S.) That the subject is practical no one will deny, and as the Nonconformists are the chief representatives of anti-sacerdotalism, it is to them and to their stand-point that the Bishop addresses his reasoning, making dexterous use of some words in which Mr. Arnold Thomas, the President of the Congregational Union, exhorts his followers to “acquaint themselves with the facts of early Church History and take means for the wide diffusion of the knowledge of those facts.” He calls attention to the decisive testimony of the Fathers, taken merely as credible witnesses to the beliefs of their age. As far back as the very earliest Christian centuries we find them assuming, in manifest unconsciousness that there could be another opinion on the subject, that the ministry of the Christian Church was a real priesthood, and the Holy Eucharist its real sacrifice. Clearly then the ambiguous, because scanty references to the subject, in the Acts and the Epistles are to be interpreted in this sense. This is an excellent way of putting the argument.

A few months back we had occasion to review a *Life of Father Dominic*, the zealous Passionist whom Newman asked to receive him into the Church. Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B.,

wrote a similar review in the *Dublin Review*, which the Catholic Truth Society now issues as a tract. It is a life full of human interest, and likewise of humour, of one of the rebuilders of our walls. Mr. Herbert Williams supplements his two previous little books, with another on *The Church of the Revelation*. (C. T. S.) The title is somewhat misleading, for the treatise is not an inquiry what Church is described in the Book of Revelations (the Apocalypse), but a proof that the Church is founded on a doctrinal revelation. The author is somewhat dry, and hard, on that account, to follow. But he is a sound reasoner and will repay study. The supposition of a visitor from Mars establishing a system of communication between the two planets is happy as an illustration of the relation of revelation to reason.

Other new publications of the C. T. S. are, *Ritual*, a Pastoral Letter, by the Bishop of Newport, and *Reasons for being a Catholic*, by E. H., both belonging to the Miniature Series; also the fortieth volume of the Peacock Blue Series, which contains among other tracts Father Bridgett's *Art of Lying*, a correction of some misrepresentations of the teaching of St. Alphonsus.

*The Life of the Cardinal of York* (Washbourne) is by Mr. Bernard W. Kelly. By contrast with his brother, Prince Charles Edward, we may say that Prince Henry Benedict Stuart chose the better part. While the elder brother, after the downfall of his hopes of restoration, fell into a life which no one could respect, the younger entered the ranks of the clergy, became a Cardinal, and throughout his life enjoyed the respect of all. The Cardinal after his brother's death assumed the title of King, but he never showed the disposition to give trouble, and when the troubles of the Revolution at length disturbed his quiet and left him penniless, it is pleasant to learn that George IV. offered him a pension, which was gratefully received.

It is a burning question with us how we are to watch over our boys and girls during the years which follow their leaving school. It should be interesting therefore to compare what we have done for them and are doing, with what our fellow-Catholics across the channel have done on a much larger scale. Their difficulties have been much greater than ours in this free country. At the beginning of the century, when after the Revolution the Church had almost to commence afresh, Napoleon said: "I wish for bishops, curés, vicaires, and nothing else."



Even under the Third Republic the liberty of Catholic action has not been so impeded as that, and yet the hindrances placed in its way have been quite enough to dishearten. Still in spite of all, Catholic zeal has multiplied its institutions with marvellous fertility, and has accomplished a wonderful success in the saving of young lives to God and His Church. M. Max Turmann, in his *Au sortir de l'Ecole* (Lecoffre), has given a full and interesting account of all their *Patronages*, as they are called—a name, by-the-bye, which takes less in England than in France, where its etymological signification of a “big father (for the little ones),” is more felt.

*The Sacraments explained*, by Father Devine, C.P. (Washbourne), and the *Exposition of Christian Doctrine*, by a Seminary Professor (McVey, Philadelphia), are two books of a kind which are multiplying just now. Father Devine's method is known. He gives a great deal of matter, in some places even going into history, as in proving the doctrine of the Real Presence. A layman who has mastered this volume will be well instructed in his religion. The same may be said of the American work which is strictly catechetical in its form, and has some very elaborate analyses of its chapters. With these books of instruction we may connect Father Cafferata's *Catechism simply explained* (Art and Book Co.), of which a second edition now appears. Its popularity is evident by the rapid sale of the first edition of 3,000. It is intended for the instruction of converts.

*Manuale Theologiæ Moralis*, by Dr. Benedetto Melata (Propaganda Press), is the second edition of a manual on Moral Theology, about which there is not much more to be said, save that it follows the usual routine of such books, and is clear and simple in its explanations.

*Erin Quintana*, by Eblana (Duffy), is a history of Irish administration during the Vice-Royalty of Lord Townshend (1767—1772). It is an entertaining account of life and manners very different to our own, whether in England or in Ireland.

*Autumn Leaves* (Young and Co., New York) is a collection of short tales, interspersed with verses, by Miss Mary Agnes Tincker. Some of the stories are very pretty, for instance, the “Two little Roman Beggars.”

Two volumes of *The Voice of the Spirit* (Sampson and Low) are sent us for review, one on Ezechiel and Canticles, the other on Matthew and Galatians. Their quality may be judged from the following sentence in the Preface: “The character

and personality of Christ is not a person but 'a marvellous presentation of the higher or divine spirit of uprightness, kindness, goodness, love, acting within and incarnated in mankind.'" To assist this principle of interpretation, he renders all the proper names etymologically, for instance, "After this Jesus, Welfare of Spirit, came down to Galilee (the District), to Jordan (Down-flow), to John, the Beloved, to be bathed by him." The book should sell well among the theologians of Bedlam.

## II.—MAGAZINES.

### *Some contents of foreign Periodicals :*

STIMMEN AUS MARIA LAACH. (June.)

The Teaching Office of the Church. *R. von Nostitz-Rieneck.*

The Repression of Anarchism. *S. von Dunin-Borkowski.*

The Struggle of Bavaria for Freedom towards the close of the Thirty Years' War. *O. Pfülf.* The Holy Mounts of Tuscany. *M. Meschler.* Reviews, &c.

The ÉTUDES (June 5 and 20.)

For Freedom. *A. Belanger.* Soldier Portraits in the Eighteenth Century. *H. Chérot.* A New School of Spirituality.

*H. Watrigant.* A New Book on St. Francis of Sales.

*J. Brucker.* The Baccalauréat. *L. Trégard.* An Episode in the History of Devotion to the Sacred Heart.

*F. Tournier.* The Letter to Cardinal Gibbons.

*G. Desjardins.* Bismarck and the Transformation of Germany. *H. Prélôt.* Reviews, &c.

REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE. (June.)

A new Collection of the Sermons of St. Cæsarius of Arles.

*Dom G. Morin.* Letters of Jean des Roches to Dom

Berthod. *Dom U. Berlière.* William Ryckel, Abbot of St. Trond. Recent Liturgical Publications.

DER KATHOLIK. (June.)

Tetzel and Oldecop. *Dr. N. Paulus.* Conrad Treger, an Augustinian of the Sixteenth Century. *N. Paulus.* History

of the Mass in Germany during the Middle Ages.

*Dr. A. Franz.* Bourdaloue Literature. *Dr. A. Bellesheim.*

Reviews, &c.

## L'UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE. (June.)

Leidrade and Christian Education. *Mgr. Dadolle*. The Triple Alliance in the Light of Recent Documents. *Comte J. Grabinski*. Joan of Arc and the Soul of France. *Abbé Delfour*. A Theologian of the Common-sense School. *R. Parayre*. Recent Books on Scripture. *E. Jacquier*. Reviews, &c.

## LA REVUE GÉNÉRALE. (June.)

Florentine Painters. *A. Goffin*. The Rôle of Woman. *P. Saey*. The Religious Crisis in England. *A. Richardson*. Some Historical Works. *Ch. de Ricault d'Héricault*. Reviews, &c.

## LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. (June 3 and 17.)

Catholic France at Lourdes, April 18 to April 21, 1899. Presentiments and Telepathy. Statist and Apostle. Copernicus, the founder of modern Astronomy. Two defenders of Americanism. The Dissolution of Evolution. Reviews, &c.

